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THE

STATE

OF

IRELAND.

BY ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

SECOND EDITION.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

HIS ADDRESSES TO THE ELECTORS

OF THE

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

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1798.

TO

THOSE WHO WERE ELECTORS

OF THE

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

February 1ſt, 1798,

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE year which has intervened ſince I laſt addreſſed you, has been filled with events the moſt trying for the preſent, and the moſt auſpicious for the future, that ever have occurred in our mournful hiſtory. It is twelve months ſince I promiſed to give you a ſtate of our country; but ſuch has been the tyranny under which perſecution has laboured to deſtroy the freedom of diſcuſſion, that, until within theſe few days, it has not been in my power to perform my promiſe. It was my intention to have addreſſed it to you as the only independent part of the then conſtituent body; but ſince the preſent Miniſters and their accomplices have deſtroyed every veſtige of Election by Martial Law, and by impriſoning your Candidate upon falſe pretences, on the eve of a general election—abandoning all idea of conſidering you as a part of what no longer exiſts, I have addreſſed the State of our Country to you in common with the reſt of my Countrymen united in the glorious cauſe of regaining their Freedom. They who expect

expect to find a detail of the horrors of which Ireland has been the theatre, will be disappointed; those have been already written in the blood of our Countrymen; your sufferings have flowed from the System; I have therefore mounted to the source, and detailed the System itself. Convinced that such a System should not, and cannot be longer continued; convinced that Murderers must capitulate, and lay down their arms at the feet of the Nation they have outraged, I have hastened to give a State of our Country, that Irishmen might be furnished with an account of those WRONGS they have to redress, and of those RIGHTS they have to regain, before their Liberties can be secured.

I have given you this Statement with all its imperfections on its head, rather than wait to abridge its redundancies, or to correct the numerous faults with which it abounds. If I have shewn you the TRUTH, it is of trivial consideration in what garb I have dressed her; the crisis is too momentous, her presence too necessary, her charms too lovely, to need decoration. The inviolable fidelity with which my beloved Countrymen have kept their engagements one to the other, and that spirit which has risen in proportion as dangers and difficulties have multiplied, augur that Liberty will exalt the fame of Irishmen as high in the future history of nations, as rapine and tyranny have depressed it in the centuries that have passed. What I have said has flowed warm from a heart unsubdued by persecution; and my utmost wish will be accomplished if it finds as warm a reception in the unbroken hearts of my United Countrymen.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

TO THE

IRISH NATION.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

THAT I ſhould attempt to inquire into the ſtate of our Country in its preſent woeful condition, does not ariſe from any overweening conceit that I poſſeſs abilities adequate to ſo arduous a taſk. It would argue a total ignorance of the extent and intricacy of the ſyſtem, which has cauſed the poverty of Ireland—it would argue a total ignorance how much this ſyſtem was interwoven, not only with the fortunes of the herd of little gentry, but with the fortunes and conſequence of the moſt powerful families amongſt us,—were I not ſenſible of my inability to do the ſubject that juſtice its importance deſerves. But, although I am not gifted with that commanding eloquence which can fortify irreſolute virtue, and appal the daring effrontery of inveterate guilt, I truſt you ſhall not find me wanting in perſeverance to trace the miſery and ſufferings of my Country to their real ſource, nor in reſolution to brave the perſecution and calumny of DETECTED CRIMINALS.

Hitherto, the ſtate of *faction* has been ſo miſtaken for the ſtate of the *country*, that, as often as the public mind has been led to hope that an inquiry would be made into the ſtate of the nation, it has always ended in recitals of the conteſts of the different factions under the different adminiſtrations, with reciprocal animadverſions and eulogiums on thoſe by whom they have been ſupported, and on thoſe by whom they have been oppoſed—by which reiterated diſgraceful recriminations the People of Ireland have at length learnt with what undeviating uniformity their deareſt intereſts have been ſold. Deteſting faction, deteſting the entire principles on which Iriſh adminiſtration is formed, I am free to inveſtigate the purpoſes for which the

public money, or, as it is called, the patronage of Ireland, has been diſtributed by the agent of a Britiſh Miniſter, and the ſervices for which it has been received by an Iriſh Legiſlature. I avow myſelf openly the implacable enemy of the whole ſyſtem under which Venality, Corruption and Tyranny, have dared to trample on the Liberties of my Country, where emoluments are peculation, and what are called honours a diſgrace. Appearances are ſo ſtrong againſt this ſyſtem—they carry with them ſuch evident marks that the foulеſt treaſon has been practiſed againſt the People of Ireland—that, were I to content myſelf with the mention of general abſtract facts, I know not how the moſt ſhameleſs proſtitution could deny the neceſſity of inſtantaneous reformation. If internal tranquillity, and a willing obedience to the laws, be the beſt criterion to judge of the juſtice or wiſdom with which they have been made, or of the moderation with which they have been adminiſtered, in what period of our hiſtory, in what quarter of our country, ſhall the Government and Legiſlature of Ireland find their juſtification? If the condition of a people be the beſt criterion to judge of the excellence of their practical government, how ſhall the People of Ireland, worſe houſed, worſe clad, and worſe fed, than the ſubjects of the moſt inveterate deſpotiſm in Europe, diveſt themſelves from thinking that they live under one of the worſt practical governments in the world? If the reſpect in which a nation is held abroad be the beſt criterion to judge of the ability or integrity with which its affairs have been conducted at home, how ſhall the People of Ireland, without rank, or without a name among nations, force themſelves to believe that their affairs have been conducted with either ability or integrity? Is it by comparing the rank which this beauteous iſland holds with the rank held by the ſwamps of Holland, the mountains of Switzerland, the diminutiveneſs of Geneva or Genoa, or the ſterility of Portugal, ſuffering under the double laſh of civil and religious deſpotiſm, that the People of Ireland ſhould be ſatisfied with the fidelity of their Government, or with the purity of their Repreſentatives? Shall beggary and famine ſtalk through your country, ſo bleſt with a temperate climate and a fertile ſoil, without the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion that the people have not been

been done juſtice? Shall a brave, healthy, intelligent, generous people, be doomed to the moſt ſqualid miſery at home, and be famed for enterprize, activity and induſtry in every country but their own, without the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion that they have been made a prey to peculation, injuſtice, and oppreſſion? Shall a country be endowed by Providence with the advantages of coaſting carriage, of navigable rivers, and with the moſt convenient form, and yet its induſtry be at ſo low an ebb, that the principal manufactures for home conſumption ſhall be furniſhed by a neighbouring nation, without the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion that her induſtry has been ſold? Shall a country be gifted by the hand of Nature with the advantages of inſular ſituation—be indented with numerous ſafe and commodious harbours, and be moſt advantageouſly placed on the globe between the old and the new world—and yet poſſeſs ſuch an inconſiderable foreign trade, as that no ſhips ſcarcely, but thoſe of one nation, ſhall enter her ports, and thoſe the ſhips of that nation which appoints her government and diſtributes her patronage—without the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion of perfidy in her government, and treaſon in her legiſlature?

The contraſt between the condition of our country and the natural advantages with which it has been gifted, forms a paradox which calls aloud for inquiry. I will not waſte time in proving that we are immerſed in a ſtate of poverty, and wretchedneſs which ill accords with the natural advantages of our country. He muſt be blind who does not ſee it; he muſt be deaf who has not heard our complaints; and there are none but thoſe who have been ſharers in the plunder, that have not felt for our diſtreſs. I know there are traitors amongſt us, who ſay that our miſery is cauſed by our indolence, and that idleneſs is an innate vice in the People of Ireland. If ſo, why do they come from the moſt remote quarters of the country to the vicinage of the towns, to ſeek for employment? Why do they leave their habitations, their families and their country, in ſuch numbers, every year, to ſeek for employment in England and in Newfoundland? If idleneſs be an innate vice in us and in our ſoil, how has it happened that we have ſurpaſſed the People of England in the only manufacture in which our induſtry has been done juſtice? Or, if we are this indolent

people, why was it neceſſary for a Legiſlature of Ireland to write its own indelible infamy in the black character of that law by which it deſtroyed the woollen manufacture in Ireland in order to promote it in Great-Britain? But theſe are the calumnies of men enriched by emoluments which their proſtitution, not their abilities, has gathered—of men who are bribed to betray the people they vilify—of men who ſeek to lay the effect of their own treaſon at the door of the nation they have ſold, oppreſſed, and ruined. It is time to unmaſk them, and to prove to the world, that the want of induſtry ſo foully charged on the people of Ireland originates in the plunder and poverty of their country, and that this plunder and poverty originate in a ſyſtem of Corruption and Uſurpation which thoſe who have deſtroyed every veſtige of our Liberties call glorious and happy.

Of the ſacred Funds which pay the Wages of Induſtry.

Induſtry is the ſource of human proſperity, and the wages of induſtry are its excitement. In every civilized country, the wealth gathered by induſtry forms a fund for the employment of the induſtrious; and as the exiſtence of this fund is the great diſcriminating mark between civilization and barbariſm, ſo the ſtate of this fund is what regulates the condition and character of every people upon earth. If the Government and Legiſlature protect the People in their induſtry and in their national rights, this fund will anſwer the population: It will grow with a growing population, and population will be a bleſſing: Induſtry will flouriſh; and, with it, plenty, honeſty, ſobriety, cleanlineſs and the reſt of her delightful companions, will follow in her train. Theſe are the effects of good Government; theſe are the fruits of Liberty; theſe are the bleſſings which the Almighty ſhowers down upon a people who have the ſpirit to aſſert their rights, and the courage to maintain them, againſt Governments which exiſt but by the means they have of corrupting, and againſt Legiſlators who live but on the wages they receive for betraying, the people they pretend to repreſent. But when the funds for the employment of induſtry have been ſquandered—when the Government and Legiſlature, by treaſon and plunder, have perverted this fund from anſwering

anſwering the population, or from growing ſo as to anſwer a growing population, population becomes a curſe: Idleneſs muſt predominate; and, with it, poverty, diſhoneſty, drunkenneſs, filth and the reſt of her horrid crew, muſt be the inevitable conſequence. Theſe are the unerring marks of an enſlaved Nation: Theſe are the evils which viſit a people curſed with a foreign Government and a venal Legiſlature: Theſe are the calamities which afflict a people, the fund for the employment of whoſe induſtry has been drained, to ſwell the funds for the employment of that nation which appoints their government and diſtributes their patronage. It is the proportion which this fund bears to the population that ſtamps the character of indolence, or of induſtry, on every people on the globe: It is this proportion which regulates the happineſs, or miſery, of every nation upon earth. If, then, this ſacred fund has been ſquandered by the Government and Legiſlature of Ireland—if every means by which Iriſh induſtry could acquire Iriſh capital, has been ſacrificed, to ſwell the funds, and to promote the induſtry of Great Britain, I do not heſitate to aſſert, that the Government and Legiſlators of Ireland have been the moſt proſtitute Hirelings, that they have committed the foulеſt Treaſon againſt the People of Ireland, that ever Government or Legiſlature committed againſt a people. But, that you may judge of the fidelity with which your Government and Legiſlature have protected and huſbanded this ſacred fund, we muſt examine how far the ſources from which it could be ſupplied, have been applied to their proper uſe.

THE FIRST SOURCE.

The firſt, the muſt permanent and the moſt abundant ſource for ſupplying the fund for the employment of national induſtry, is the produce of Agriculture. Does the produce of the lands of Ireland go to ſupply the fund for the employment of its People? No! your corn, your cattle, your butter, your leather, your yarn, all your ſuperfluous produce, and much more than would be ſuperfluous if the People of Ireland were furniſhed with the common neceſſaries of life, are all exported without a return to pay the rents of Iriſh Landlords who do not think the country worthy

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thy of their reſidence, every particle of which is as utterly loſt to the fund for the employment of the people of Ireland, as if it had been thrown into the ſea. The whole is exported, to ſwell the funds for the employment of the People of England; whilſt the forſaken, plundered People of Ireland are left to languiſh in famine and miſery, for want of that wealth, in the ſhape of wages, which the labour of their hands, and the ſweat of their brow, had originally produced—exhaling the ſap and moiſture of the Iriſh ſoil to fertilize Great Britain. I aſk, if this country were to wage an endleſs war, which ſhould be defrayed by the annual exportation of two millions' worth of her rude unmanufactured produce, how could the fund for the employment of her induſtry be more impoveriſhed than it is by this exportation of her agricultural produce without a return? If the Almighty were to afflict this country with barrenneſs and blighting to ſuch a degree, that her annual produce ſhould be two millions' worth leſs than it is at preſent—or, if the Almighty were to ſend ſuch inclement ſeaſons, that the two millions' worth of her rude produce were to be deſtroyed—in what reſpect could the fund for the employment of the People of Ireland be more injured than it is at preſent? If this country was annually ravaged by the moſt barbarous enemy; nay, if we were a conquered people—could the moſt oppreſſive tyrants have exacted a more ſevere tribute, or could the payment be enforced in a manner more injurious to the induſtry of Ireland, than by rejecting their manufactured produce, and obliging them to pay it in the rude unmanufactured ſtate? Creative as this evil has been of the miſery and wretchedneſs of the People of Ireland—deſtructive as it has proved to their induſtry—I aſk, why have the Government and Legiſlature of Ireland reſiſted every attempt to correct or to prevent it? Although the property of the non-reſident, and the reſident, are equally protected by the Iriſh government, yet ſo wholly has the property of the non-reſidents been exempted from contributing towards its ſupport, that the beggar who conſumes one penny-worth of tobacco in the courſe of the year contributes more towards the maintenance of Iriſh Government than all the non-reſident landlords put together. Give me one inſtance in the hiſtory of nations, in which the intereſt and induſtry of a people

people calling themſelves free have been ſo wholly ſacrificed to the accommodation of a few individuals. Give me one inſtance in the annals of the world, where the moſt ſacred rights of a nation calling itſelf independent have been ſo treacherouſly abandoned to aggrandize another people.

THE SECOND SOURCE.

The next ſource from which the fund for the employment of national induſtry can be ſupplied, is the profits of the national capital employed in Commerce. For a nation to be commercial, ſhe muſt be free. It is the excluſive privilege, it is the moſt glorious attribute, of tranſcendent Liberty, that ſhe protects her votaries in the freeſt exerciſe of their induſtry, and in the fulleſt enjoyment of its produce. Commerce muſt be free from embarraſſment, from injuſtice, and from oppreſſion. How, then, ſhall a country, ſubject to ſuch a code as the Revenue Laws of Ireland, become commercial? How ſhall commerce, which ſhrinks from embarraſſment, and flies from injuſtice and oppreſſion, take up its reſidence in a country where its moſt important branches are made to bend under the weight of the fees and exactions of the Officers of Revenue? How ſhall commerce take up its reſidence in a country where the laws which regulate trade are calculated to make the independence of the mercantile body crouch to Revenue Clerks, at once Legiſlators and Commiſſioners, at once makers and expounders of the Laws? How ſhall Commerce take up her abode where the Laws are made to ſap the independence of a county, or to colonize a borough, with the inſtruments of venality, extortion and pillage? Speculation is the ſoul of commerce; and an extenſive market is the life of ſpeculation. How, then, ſhall Ireland become commercial, where the Legiſlature has thrown open every market in Ireland to every ſpecies of Britiſh manufacture, whilſt every market in Great Britain is ſhut againſt every ſpecies of Iriſh manufacture, with one ſolitary exception, which, after every effort, Britiſh induſtry could not compaſs? Your Legiſlature has not only ſacrificed your home trade to the moſt commercial nation in the world, but, by giving this powerful nation an unbounded right to fill your markets with the produce of her own

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and of every other nation, while a reciprocal right of ſending foreign produce to her markets is ſtrictly denied you, your foreign trade undergoes the fate of your home trade. Yes! your own Legiſlature has laid your home trade, they have laid your foreign trade, at the feet of Britiſh aggrandizement; and they have procured your excluſion in return. Does this look as if the Legiſlature of either country repreſented Ireland? Does not this look as if both repreſented Great Britain? If this be Iriſh Legiſlation, what man who loves his country durſt diſpute the virtue of your Senate? If this be Britiſh fraternity, what Iriſhman ſo ungrateful that will not fall with Britain, and think his blood well ſhed for ſuch a benefactor?

THE THIRD SOURCE.

The next ſource from which the fund for the employment of national induſtry can be ſupplied, is the profits of the national capital employed in manufactures. For a People to become manufacturers, they ſhould have materials to work on, and proviſions to maintain them whilſt they are at work. How ſhall the People of Ireland become a manufacturing nation, whoſe materials and proviſions are annually exported without any return? Robbed of their home-market, robbed of the foreign market for the ſurpluſage of their work after the home market is ſupplied, where are they to diſpoſe of their manufactures, even tho' they were not robbed of their materials and proviſions without a return? Your home market is narrowed by an inundation of every ſpecies of Britiſh manufacture, whilſt every market in Great Britain is cloſed againſt every ſpecies of Iriſh manufacture, with the ſolitary exception of your linen. Your induſtry is robbed of its native food, chained down on its native ſoil. Thus famiſhed, manacled, and in infancy, it is thrown a prey to the monſter of mercantile avarice, whoſe inſatiable appetite has plundered and devoured the mild inhabitants of the Eaſt Indies—reduced the human ſpecies to the ſtate of the brute creation in the Weſt Indies—would have ſubjugated the brave Americans—and, after deluging all Europe with blood, making it a prey to famine and civil diſcord, has expended its treaſures to inſti-

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gate exhauſted combatants to a farther continuance of a war, and of a carnage, the moſt deſtructive and bloody that has been ever recorded in the annals of the world.

FOURTH SOURCE.

The next ſource from which the fund for the employment of your national induſtry could be ſupplied, is your Fiſheries. What a ſource of wealth and induſtry would they have proved to a well-governed nation, bleſſed with the natural advantages with which Ireland has been gifted! Yet how has this treaſure been deſtroyed by that Law intituled "An Act for the encouragement of the Fiſheries of Ireland!"—an Act in which you will ſee as much human preſumption as ever yet appeared in human Legiſlation.

The Revenue Code had eſtabliſhed the *omnipotence* of its commiſſioners; this law eſtabliſhes their *omniſcience*. It ſays, that three of them ſhall annually inform the fiſhermen of Ireland of the exact ſpot where the fiſh are to be found. It not only directs where they ſhall fiſh, but it directs, in the moſt preciſe manner, how they ſhall fiſh, and how they ſhall be equipped; and, if the illiterate fiſhermen of Ireland do not take, and comply with the contents of, eleven long oaths ſet forth in this law, although they ſhould catch all the fiſh in the ſea, they cannot catch one ſhilling of bounty. To follow this law through all its abſurdities, would be to recite every letter of the Act. Legiſlators, who, from their ſituation in life, could not have the ſkill or knowledge of the meaneſt fiſherman on the coaſt, have preſcribed the exact manner in which a whole people, under all the variations of time, ſituation and circumſtances, ſhall exerciſe their induſtry in one of its moſt important branches. It is not only that vaſt ſums of the public money of an impoveriſhed country have been ſquandered, but, that they ſhould be expended for the purpoſe of deſtroying one of the moſt valuable ſources of national induſtry—and this, after a ſimilar attempt had been made in Great Britain, and failed, although a much greater capital had been ſubſcribed, and a much higher bounty had been given. O ill-fated Country! where the crime of waſting the public money merges into

inſignificance, compared with the miſchief its expenditure creates! There is a hiſtory in every Iriſh job. This job having ruined the jobber, has not rendered it leſs injurious to our national induſtry. But as the proprietor is dead, as the job has not anſwered, this great branch of your induſtry may revive, when relieved from the contagion of Parliamentary bounty.

FIFTH SOURCE.

The only remaining ſource from which the fund for the employment of national induſtry could be augmented, is the ſavings made from the Wages of the Induſtrious. But when beggary, miſery, and famine, preſent themſelves at every quarter of our country, expiring witneſſes of the robbery and plunder of this ſacred fund, how can I inſult you by talking of ſavings from wages, in a country where the nation has been converted into an alms-houſe, and the induſtrious into beggars? If there be a country upon earth where the accurſed trade of Corruption, Proſtitution and Treaſon, has been ſet up, to deſtroy the fair and honeſt occupations of commerce and induſtry—where men are accounted great in proportion to the extent of the trade they drive in buying and ſelling the rights and intereſts of their country—where public money, extorted from wretchedneſs, is the capital they trade with, and public welfare the commodity they deal in—where a degraded and debaſed gentry, in one continued chain of mercenary dependence, have been bred up to the trade—where agriculture is drained to the dregs, where manufactures are ſtrangled in their cradle—How, in the name of Heaven, in ſuch a country, is the fund for the employment of national induſtry to derive any ſuccour from a capital thus mutilated, jobbed and plundered?

I have now enumerated every means by which national induſtry can acquire national capital. I have ſhewn you how far theſe means of acquiring wealth have been wreſted from you, my Countrymen! and transferred to aggrandize Great Britain; yet this were to recount but half your wrongs. It is not enough that you ſhould know the manner by which you have been deprived of the means of acquiring wealth:

wealth: You ſhould, alſo, be informed of the various ways by which the pittance of wealth your induſtry has acquired, under its mutilated means, has been robbed and plundered under a ſyſtem of Corruption and Treaſon, to the beggary of the Iriſh, and the ruin of their country.

The Ways by which the Capital the Nation has acquired, is drained.

The firſt deduction I ſhall ſtate, is the enormous drain which is extorted from induſtry, under the head of Religious Inſtruction. Whilſt the clergy for inſtructing three millions of Catholics receive but 60,000l. annually, and the clergy for inſtructing ſix hundred thouſand Preſbyterians receive but 25,000l.—the clergy for inſtructing four hundred thouſand Parliamentary Proteſtants are maintained at the enormous annual expence of half a million. When I contemplate the various attributes of that mighty Power which has created and moves the myriads of worlds I ſee floating round me—when, as an inhabitant of this globe, which the ſame Power has created and animated, I attempt, from the contemplation of his works, to collect the numerous laws by which he ordained his creatures ſhould be directed and governed—when I conſider the difficulty of knowing which to admit, and which to reject, of thoſe writings, which, in ſo many ages, and in ſo many nations, have been received and accredited as coming from God, for the rule and direction of Man—when I conſider how many various interpretations the mind of Man has given to thoſe ſcriptures, received and accredited among Chriſtians, written in trope, in metaphor, in figure, in parable, and in allegory—I cannot conceive how any two thinking men (and I hold thoſe who think not for themſelves, but leave it to others to think for them, of no account) could form the ſame opinion on ſuch an extenſive and difficult ſubject. Can the human mind conceive a greater abſurdity than that one man ſhould direct what another ſhould believe? What point of contact exiſts between man and man, on this great and difficult ſubject of faith and belief? What poſſible right can one man ſet up to interfere with the faith or belief of another? What

What ſtandard have thoſe who do not agree, by which they can ſettle their difference? or, without ſuch a ſtandard, how can the controverſy be ever decided? Theſe conſiderations, and a thouſand others, with imperious mandate, conſecrate the right of the individual in his religious opinions againſt the whole world beſide. It is a concern between him and his God. Tyrant, avaunt! Opinion is too ſubtile for your graſp. You may force it to hypocriſy and diſſimulation; but to Man, and his Creator only, can it be known. If then, the right of the individual ſtands good againſt the reſt of mankind, what can be more preſumptuous, or unjuſt, than that a minority ſhould ſet up a right to controul the majority? If a whole nation has no right to interfere with the moſt inſignificant citizen in his religious opinions, ſo as to do him the ſmalleſt injuſtice for the freeſt exerciſe of this impreſcriptible right, by what title does one claſs of Iriſh Proteſtants, not one tenth of the nation, arrogate the power of appropriating ſuch exorbitant funds for the miniſters of its religion, to which the other nine tenths are not only made to contribute, but to pay for their own religious inſtruction beſides? But what will be the indignation, not only of the majority, whoſe intereſt is ſacrificed, but alſo of theſe Parliamentary proteſtants, if I ſhall prove, that this flagrant violation of impreſcriptible right is not leſs injurious to the religion, it was done under the pretence of promoting, than it is oppreſſive to thoſe againſt whom it acts with ſuch deſtructive injuſtice?

Man, when he becomes the miniſter of religion, does not lay aſide the paſſions, the deſires or the propenſities of his nature; the ſtrongeſt and moſt uniform of which, is a conſtant deſire to better his condition. Hence the miniſter, who is appointed to an annual income in contempt of the approbation or choice of his pariſhioners, and receives it independent of the zeal or the diligence with which he diſcharges its duties, has no excitement to call forth his exertions. The moſt attentive diſcharge of his miniſtry adds nothing to his annual income, if he were ever ſo well read in the doctrines it is his duty to teach. If he were to recommend himſelf to his pariſhioners by the moſt exemplary life and the moſt unwearied attendance,

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they have it not in their power to better his fortune. Hence, if his exertions be directed to his further advancement—and, as long as human nature continues, you will not find one in a thouſand with whom it is not the paramount object—the miniſter, under ſuch an eſtabliſhment, will relinquiſh the barren, unprofitable occupation of religious inſtruction, to devote his time and his exertions to gain thoſe by whoſe means and whoſe intereſt he may be further promoted. He will devote himſelf, with the moſt ſervile obeiſance, to the wiſhes and will of his Biſhop, or to the government, however corrupt, which can advance him to the higheſt ſtate of affluence, of patronage, and of political power, rather than to the diſcharge of his parochial duties. The larger his ſtipend, the greater his temptation, and his means, to deſert his pariſhioners. After wealth, patronage, and power, have been ſet in his way, it is vain to expect that he will not deſert thoſe of inferior condition who ſtand moſt in need of his conſtant attendance, that he may join thoſe in that ſphere with whom this monſtrous eſtabliſhment ranks him, with whom it is his inclination, as well as his intereſt, to mix. Not only his own inclination draws him away from his duty; but the vanity and love of pleaſure, ſo natural to the reſt of his family, are ill ſatisfied with diſplaying the equipage and finery, their great income allows them to purchaſe, before their Gothic pariſhioners, which might be exhibited with ſuch eclat in Dublin, in London, or in Bath, or at the Hot-wells of Briſtol. If the enormity of the eſtabliſhment of the preſent Proteſtant Clergy takes away every incitement to an active diſcharge of their duty, the inequality of the preferment is not leſs fatal. Inſtead of ſitting down for life amongſt his pariſhioners, to ſtudy their diſpoſitions, their weakneſſes, or their vices, without which it is impoſſible he ſhould be able to correct or amend them, under the preſent inequality of Church preferment, the Proteſtant miniſter muſt regard every inſtant he remains in his actual condition, as the loſs of his fortune; and, from the inſtant he obtains one preferment, his thoughts are employed in deviſing means for attaining another. If the poor and the uneducated ſtand moſt in need of religious inſtruction, are they not moſt likely to receive it from a clergy, whoſe ſtipends place them

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in a ſtate above that meanneſs which too often attends upon want, but below that affluence which creates arrogance, and contempt of inferiors? If the furtherance of religion be their object, ſhould not its clergy be placed in that ſituation, where it will be their intereſt to cultivate the good opinion and good will of the pooreſt pariſhioners? Should not the clergy be placed in ſuch a ſituation as would oblige them to build their character and conſequence in the world on the moſt exemplary life, and the moſt active and faithful diſcharge of their ſacred functions? Why, then, have they been placed in a ſituation, where the mode by which they are paid has been the ſource of endleſs litigation and enmity between them and the people? Why has their preferment been made to reſt on the forfeiture of their independence, and the moſt abject ſacrifice of their duties as citizens, at the ſhrine of corruption? Why has the mode by which they are paid been made to act as a bounty on idleneſs, by falling heavieſt on thoſe who are moſt induſtrious, and lighteſt on thoſe who are leaſt ſo? If the Founder of Chriſtianity were to deſcend upon earth, with what indignation would he behold the heads of his miniſtry inveſted with wealth, with patronage and political power! With what indignation would he behold the cringing, the meanneſs and the ſervility of the ſubaltern clergy towards theſe ſuperiors—to ſee his mild, diſintereſted religion coupled with political faction—to ſee worldly preferment their only purſuit, and the ſacrifice of independence, public virtue and honour, the only means of attainment—to ſee the moſt lofty ambition, the moſt ſelfiſh avidity, and the moſt perſecuting ſpirit of tyrannic aſcendancy, concealed under the colour of ſanctity and the garb of hypocriſy! Well might he aſk what part of his ſacred writings authoriſed his miniſters to rank themſelves at the head of the opulent lords and the moſt puiſſant princes of human creation—inſtead of that ſelf-denial, that humility, that meekneſs, that contempt of riches and honours, which he preached in every line of his goſpel!

If thoſe of what are called the learned profeſſions, phyſicians and lawyers, were paid regular annual ſtipends, like theſe proteſtant clergy, independent of any exertions they made to deſerve them, in vain would you look for the preſent

ſent competition, and unwearied attention to patients and clients. No longer would phyſicians retain that ſpirit of independence for which they are ſo deſervedly noted. No longer would an apoſtate Miniſter have to dread, that an attempt to puniſh with death thoſe principles which had raiſed him to the zenith of power, would be baffled by incorruptible honour, tranſcendent genius, and unwearied exertion. Genius, independence, honour, exertion, and patriotiſm—all, all would be engulphed in the abyſs of corruption.

Is it upon divine authority that ſects of Chriſtian miniſters are linked to Governments by theſe monſtrous eſtabliſhments? On the contrary, Chriſt has denounced it. After Chriſtianity having made its way amongſt nations, not only without the aid or adoption of governments, but under their moſt ſevere perſecution, how can it be ſaid that now, when it has been ſo deeply rooted in the habits, the education and prejudices of the people, it ſhould ſtand in need of ſuch a connection? Look to its hiſtory: Have not its miniſters, in every inſtance in which they have been linked to government by wealth, patronage and power, filled the world with torrents of blood, and mountains of carnage? Have they not inſtituted the moſt horrid tortures, and the moſt dreadful perſecution? Have they not been the moſt formidable tyrants that ever conſpired againſt the progreſs of knowledge? Have they not been the moſt conſtant abetters of depotiſm, and the vileſt tools of corruption? Take Ireland as an example—Are the miniſters of the * Preſbyterian and Catholic Religion, who are independent of the Iriſh Government, on their moderate ſtipends, leſs zealous, leſs diligent, leſs reſident, leſs beloved or revered, than thoſe with this enormous endowment? Contraſt theſe unpatronized miniſters with the government clergy—See the former reſting in peace, becauſe they reſt on the affection of their pariſhioners: See the latter, in every quarter, ſeeking the aid, not only of the civil power, not only of the moſt ſanguinary laws, but the ſtill more unnatural aid of military execution. Set not up this fatal connexion, this deſtructive eſtabliſhment, as the friend of religion, which it betrays: Set it not up on divine authority, which has denounced it:

* Fortunately, the connexion between the Preſbyterian Clergy and the Iriſh Government is inconſiderable.

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Set it not up as the creator of the peace, the happineſs, the ſcience, or the liberties of mankind, which it deſtroys: But hold it up to public view, as the ally of deſpotic power, the champion of ignorance, and the hireling of proſtitution. What has this monſtrous eſtabliſhment in Ireland of the benevolence, the humility, the diſintereſtedneſs or the mildneſs of the Chriſtian religion? Set it down, what it is, the tool, the accomplice, the creature of Iriſh adminiſtration, Iriſh proſtitution, Iriſh corruption. This is its true deſignation: here you behold its miniſters militant magiſtrates, hurrying the people to the dungeons, the gallies or the gallows; or mercileſs extortioners of exorbitant ſtipends, wrung from heart-ſick miſery and deſpondent poverty. Follow them to the courts of law—you will ſee them attended by ſheriffs, by bailiffs, by perjurers, by ſpies and informers, by tythe-proctors, proceſs-ſervers, and civil bill attorneys; and after they have tutored the witneſſes, and modelled the juries, behold with what keenneſs they hunt down their prey! Heavens! what an office for a miniſter of the Chriſtian religion! How ſhall I withhold my indignation, when I behold a Chriſtian miniſter, who has perſecuted his fellow-creatures to death, on ſome clauſe of thoſe ſanguinary laws made at his inſtance, and for his uſe, accompany his victim to the place of execution, under the mockery of affording him a laſt conſolation! How figure to my mind a miniſter of religion, hurried on to proſecution by the thirſt of power and wealth, enlarging on the virtue of forgiveneſs and charity, and the merits of poverty in the eyes of a Chriſtian Redeemer! How endure to hear this relentleſs perſecutor dwell on the mercies of Chriſt who has himſelf ſhewn no mercy whatever, or, with unparalleled effrontery, remunerating the miſerable ſufferer for the painful death his malice has dealt him, by the moſt liberal aſſurances of life and happineſs in an eternal hereafter!

THE SECOND DEDUCTION.

The next deduction I ſhall ſtate, which is made from your ſlender acquirements, is the expence at which the laws are adminiſtered. When you conſider the number of lawyers,

yers, attorneys and clerks, which ſwarm about us, maintained at ſuch enormous expence, the exorbitant fees of the offices, the numerous law offices, and the barefaced creation of more—you muſt be ſenſible how enormous a drain the adminiſtration of law muſt occaſion from your national capital. To comprehend this aright, we muſt look to the origin of our laws. We muſt look to thoſe barbarous times when a few deſpots were the ſole proprietors, and the maſs of the people belonged to the ſoil, like the herds they attended. We muſt look to thoſe laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements, which have been ſet up to ſecure and perpetuate the deſpotiſm of the few, and to enſure and perpetuate the excluſion of the many. We muſt examine how theſe deſpotic laws of a barbarous age have been ſtrained, wrenched and twiſted, by fiction, form and quibble, to anſwer a commercial and civilized age. Inſtead of a clear, digeſted and uniform code; cuſtoms, traditions, precedents, laws, written and unwritten, heaped together, have been conſecrated; and their contradictions and confuſion have been celebrated as a *glorious uncertainty* by the profeſſors. No wonder, that, in this barbarous maſs of complexity, chicane, and fraud, it were vain for thoſe who ſeek juſtice to conſult the profeſſors to tell them the law. No wonder, that precedents equally ſtrong ſhould be found on one ſide as well as on the other. The whole is enveloped in form and fiction; and, in the ſlighteſt omiſſion of either, ſubſtantial juſtice is loſt. Trial after trial may be had in the ſame cauſe; and whilſt innumerable forms enable the agent to increaſe the expences, and to prolong the duration, it is their intereſt to extend both as far as they can. In vain ſhall the upright Judge hold the balance of juſtice with equal hand, if it is placed ſcarcely within the attainment of the rich, and out of the reach of the poor. It cannot be juſtice, unleſs it is common; it cannot be common, unleſs it is cheap.

As the exertions of judges, of lawyers, of attorneys, and the whole tribe who live by the trade, as well as the miniſters for religious inſtruction, are all unproductive—as the whole labour of the entire profeſſors of religion and law, would not maintain the moſt humble individual amongſt them, for a day, in one ſingle neceſſary or con-

venience of life—as they are wholly maintained from the produce of national induſtry, to which they in no way contribute,—it may be imagined, that, as population, and the difficulties of the induſtrious to provide the means of exiſtence, increaſed, imperious neceſſity would inſtigate your Legiſlature and Government to moderate the expences of Religion and Law. But when the privileged and the rich have taken up the idea, that the government which can buy up the reaſon of mankind is the only government which Man can endure—when œconomy or retrenchment is regarded as the weakneſs of government, and waſte and extravagance as its ſtrength—no wonder reformation ſhould be ſcouted as fraught with ruin. True to this ridiculous and deſtructive notion, your Legiſlature and Government have been increaſing the funds of Corruption, even to National Bankruptcy, when, with an empty Exchequer, they have created two-and-thirty mongrel Judges, gleaned from the refuſe of thoſe numerous blanks which the lottery of law turns up every hour. How ſhall we hope that a government, where the gentry are its only allies, will retrench the expences of thoſe burdenſome corporations, in which there is not what is called a Gentleman's family which has not one or more members? How ſhall we expect, that, by removing ſuch Augean filth, that vaſt proportion of ability and unwearied exertion which is at preſent employed in briefing, in pleading and in judging the moſt abſurd and frivolous quibbles, to the ruin and beggary of both loſer and gainer, will be turned to uſeful occupations, in which it would increaſe the neceſſaries, the conveniences and comforts of life?

THE THIRD DEDUCTION.

The next deduction I ſhall mention, which is made from your national capital, is the expence of Education. The funds for defraying this charge are very conſiderable in large tracts of lands, partly public grants, and partly private donations, together with a portion of the tythes, which the eſtabliſhed clergy do not, but which by law they are obliged to contribute; amounting all together to a

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fund fully adequate to defray the expences of the moſt complete ſyſtem of education that could be adopted. But what will be your indignation on being informed, that this ſacred fund has been embezzled by this already exorbitantly endowed Proteſtant Clergy?

Some years ago, a Committee * was appointed to examine the ſtate of this fund, when, after a moſt diligent ſearch, they diſcovered that the lands had gotten into the hands of Proteſtant Clergymen, under the appointment to ſchools with ſcarcely a ſcholar, who had leaſed theſe vaſt tracts of land to their own families at the twentieth part of their value; by which the funds for the purpoſes of education had dwindled almoſt to nothing. Theſe ſacrilegious tranſactions were faithfully detailed by this Committee, and reported to the then Iriſh adminiſtration, and, as I am informed, have been by them ſuppreſſed, that their ally and creature may not be expoſed. I have not this report by me at preſent; but I calculated, when I laſt read it, that if this fund had been faithfully managed, it would have been ample for the eſtabliſhment of pariſh ſchools throughout the whole nation; where the poor might be inſtructed in reading, in writing, and in keeping accounts, paying each maſter for the number of ſcholars he really taught; alſo for the eſtabliſhment of barony ſchools, for teaching mathematics, geometry, and ſuch other practical ſciences as are eſſential to national induſtry; county ſchools, for thoſe who had ſhewn genius in the graduate ſchools, and provincial univerſities for all ſorts of inſtruction—where, by inſtituting public examinations, and making the higher ſeminaries judges how far the junior teachers had earned their ſalaries—by diſcriminating thoſe ſcholars who had been inſtructed, from thoſe who had been neglected—the diligence and exertions of the public teachers would have been called forth, by making their induſtry and their intereſt go hand in hand. But, inſtead of adopting a ſyſtem conducive to diligence and induſtry, theſe immenſe funds have been laviſhed as corruption has thought fit to beſtow them—where it has

* If I miſtake not, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Iſaac Corry, the late Provoſt, and the late Mr. Forbes, were of this Committee.

been invariably found, that the greater the ſalary, the fewer the ſcholars, and the more neglectful the maſters have proved; whilſt that claſs of citizens, whoſe poverty called moſt for inſtruction to keep them from ranking with the brute creation, has been robbed of this ſacred fund. Already I hear the bluſtering tyrant exclaim againſt inſtructing that people, on whoſe necks he has been bred up in the habit of thinking he was born to trample. Already has the French Revolution alarmed theſe monſters, leſt education ſhould deſtroy the uſurpation of the tyrant, by reſtoring the Rights of Man. O Ignorance! thou guardian of baſtilles! thou parent of famine! thou creator of ſlaves, and ſupporter of deſpots! thou author of every miſchief and of every ill!—how long muſt we bear thy accurſed dominion? O Knowledge! thou god of our worſhip! thou parent of freedom, and deſtroyer of anarchy! thou fountain of virtue! thou leveller of vanity, of pride and injuſtice!—how long muſt we adore thee in vain!

FOURTH DEDUCTION.

The next deduction I ſhall mention that has been made from your national ſtock, is one which is not only extorted in the moſt iniquitous manner, but is levied on the pooreſt and the moſt oppreſſed part of the nation: I mean thoſe vaſt ſums which are half-yearly levied, for making and mending the bridges and roads, the new eſtabliſhment of the cavalry conſtables, and, in ſhort, all the money raiſed by grand-jury aſſeſſment. Theſe burdens have kept pace with the reſt, and have been tripled within theſe very few years. This enormous and growing land-tax is liable to every objection. It is levied on the tenantry of Ireland; and that tenants who have but a few years, or but one year of their leaſe unexpired, ſhould be forced to pay for the making of bridges and roads, and not the landlord, whoſe eſtate is to be bettered for ever, is the height of injuſtice. But, unjuſt as this is, the injuſtice is carried ſtill farther: For, in violation of every principle of taxation, that taxes ſhould be paid according to the ability of the contributors, theſe taxes are levied on plowlands, which are diſtricts of various extent, and of different values; that

that whoſe produce amounts but to fifty pounds, being aſſeſſed as high as the plowland which produces five hundred. And, even in aſſeſſing each plowland held by different tenants, the violation of principle is carried ſtill farther, each tenant being rated according to the number of acres he holds; whereby the man whoſe acres are not worth fifty pence pays as much as the man whoſe acres are worth fifty ſhillings. But when the appointment of ſheriffs conſtitutes a part of the wages of the borough-monger in every county, and that he who appoints the ſheriff appoints the grand jury, where ſhall we look for that privilege of freemen, of paying no tax but of our own or our delegates granting? Or, why ſhould we be ſurpriſed that a ſyſtem originating in the fouleſt corruption, ſhould branch out into the perjury and jobbing of gentry, the oppreſſion of the occupant tenant, and the peculation of the funds for facilitating national induſtry in Agriculture, Manufactures and Commerce?

FIFTH DEDUCTION.

The next deduction I ſhall ſtate which has been made from your national capital, is thoſe vaſt ſums which are annually given in bounties, under the pretence of promoting national induſtry. That, for the encouragement of your fiſheries, which has deſtroyed it, I have noticed already. As to the ſums annually ſquandered by the Dublin Society, and the ſums granted for the encouragement of linen and yarn, and ſuch like, they are expenſive and miſchievous jobs, by which the national wealth has been laviſhed; and the gentry who pocket the plunder have been, long ſince, branded with the infamous title of Jobbers. But that which is paid for the export of corn deſerves to be noticed, becauſe the expence is exceſſive, and its effects are ill underſtood. As it is generally thought this bounty has had the public welfare in view, it might ſeem injudicious in me to do more than mark it as a deduction from the national capital. But, ſatisfied of its pernicious effect, I will not proſtitute my conviction of mind to popularity any more than I will to courtly corruption: For I eſteem the one as ill earned when it is to be gained by the ſuppreſſion of truth

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to humour popular error, as the other when it is received for betraying popular right. If popularity follows ſtrict adherence to principles, I will gladly accept it; but I will never make it my guide.

The effect of this bounty has been to raiſe the price of corn in Ireland; and it is impoſſible to raiſe the price of corn, without raiſing the price of all the other produce of land, as well paſture as tillage, in a like proportion. Let me aſk, what would be thought of a direct tax upon the whole of our raw materials in the infancy of our manufactures? Yet this miſchievous bounty has not only had the ſame effect, but it has gone infinitely farther. It has not only raiſed the price of the raw materials, but it has raiſed the price of the manufactures, through all their ſtages to their final completion, by raiſing the price of proviſions, which enter more largely into the price of the manufactures than the materials; and the finer and more valuable the fabric, the more proviſions make part of its price. For inſtance, in a complete piece of ſteel work or lace worth 100l. the raw materials, the iron and flax, may not be worth five ſhillings, whilſt the proviſions conſumed by the workman may be worth eighty pounds. Thus, by this bounty, the productions of agriculture, manufactures, and every ſpecies of national induſtry, are not only rendered conſiderably dearer than they otherwiſe would be; but, by a parity of reaſoning, thoſe of every other nation to which our corn is ſent, muſt be made conſiderably cheaper; whereby we are not only prevented from exporting our manufactures to them, but they are enabled to ſend their's to us cheaper than we can make them at home. When ſuch are the pernicious effects of this deſtructive bounty, need I mention, that when they ſhall be fully developed, it will not be found to have promoted our tillage? The mode by which the authors of this bounty propoſe to encreaſe tillage, is by enhancing the price of its produce above the produce of paſture, by which the farmer would be induced to employ more ground under tillage than under paſture. But they ſeem to have forgotten, that the more they increaſed the quantity of tillage, the more they diminiſhed the quantity of paſture; and that, ſuppoſing the demand for the produce of paſture to remain the ſame after the bounty as it had

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been before it was granted, the price of the produce of paſture muſt riſe in an exact proportion to this diminution in quantity, which the bounty muſt cauſe: whereas, to enſure the advantage the firſt effects of the bounty had given to tillage, it was neceſſary to enſure it this enhancement of price over the produce of paſture, which it is manifeſt cannot be done. So that, after the firſt run of this bounty in favour of tillage is over, the original competition between the produce of tillage and paſture reſumes its former condition, which the bounty diſturbed; with the great and important national detriment of having taken both paſture and tillage from off the ſolid baſis on which the order of nature had placed them, to place them on ſtilts, by which the national induſtry has been both really and relatively impaired—really, by raiſing the price of every ſpecies of proviſions, of every ſpecies of manufacture, of the whole produce of national induſtry, the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, and conſequently by depreciating the value of money in Ireland—relatively, by reducing the price of proviſions, materials and manufactures, and conſequently by raiſing the value of money in thoſe countries to which our corn is ſent.

The advocates for this bounty ſeem not to know that there is a natural alliance between tillage and paſture which ſhould never be broken; that the manure which is furniſhed by paſture, is the only one which affords ſtrength or nutrition; and that all other manures are merely excitements, calling out latent powers, but bringing no additional new ones.

It may be aſked, if this bounty is thus injurious, how has it been the ſubject of praiſe of both tenants and landlords? I anſwer, to the tenant whoſe leaſes were yet unexpired when the bounty was granted, the enhancement in the price of proviſions was a real advantage in the payment of rent, though a diſadvantage as a conſumer, in ſupplying himſelf and his family with the neceſſaries and conveniences which he had occaſion to purchaſe: But he gained more as a tenant than he loſt as a conſumer; though, when his leaſe ſhall expire, and that he ſhall renew it at the enhancement in the price of proviſions, the diſadvantage as a conſumer remains, while the advantage as a tenant will vaniſh.

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The landlord was pleaſed with the bounty, becauſe it enabled his tenants to pay him his rents with more punctuality; and when the leaſes expired, he found the rents were advanced But he did not know, that in the firſt inſtance, as long as the original leaſes exiſted, although he received the ſame rent in money, yet as the price of all the articles of conſumption were raiſed by means of the bounty, that thoſe money rents had ceaſed to be of the ſame value as they had been when the leaſes were granted, and before the bounty was given. Nor did he perceive, that, even after the leaſes expired, and that the rents had been raiſed by means of the bounty—that as every article of conſumption had been raiſed in the ſame, or in a greater proportion, his new rent-roll was not of greater, nor perhaps of ſo great value, on account of the advancement in the price of goods, as his former rent-roll when the prices were lower; whilſt the tenants, knowing that when the leaſes expired the rents would be raiſed, have been led to exhauſt the ground by over-cropping, to throw down the ditches, to plow up the earth of a part of the field, and ſpread it out—thus deſtroying the fences, and one half of the land, in order to force a crop from the other. Hence the only advantage that could have accrued from this bounty, was a temporary benefit to thoſe tenants whoſe leaſes were unexpired when the bounty was granted; whilſt the tenants who had to renew, the entire claſſes of labourers and manufacturers, and the reſt of the nation, as producers and conſumers, have been, both really and relatively, grievouſly injured, and the ſeeds of ſuch miſchief have been ſown, that the longer they are ſuffered to grow, the more difficult it will be to deſtroy them hereafter.

Thus far have I conſidered this bounty on its own merits. But has there been nothing in the ſtate of Europe for theſe laſt eight years, to which the encouragement which Iriſh corn has met with in foreign markets ſhould be juſtly aſcribed, which cannot be due to this bounty? If the bad effects of this bounty have not been yet felt, have they not been poſtponed by the extraordinary demand for even Iriſh corn, which has ariſen from the diſturbed ſtate of the agriculture of ſuch a vaſt portion of the beſt-cultivated nations in Europe? Is it poſſible that the unexampled waſte

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of the labour of Europe, in a war of ſuch carnage, ſuch havock and plunder, ſhould not have cauſed an extraordinary demand for the productions of Ireland, ſituated at the extremity of the theatre of war, and an iſland? Will it be ſaid that this bounty would have the ſame ſucceſs in the markets of Europe, if the millions who have been ſlaughtered, and if the millions who are ſtill employed in the buſineſs of ſlaughter and war, had been engaged in the peaceful occupation of huſbandry, and if the waſte and deſtruction of proviſions and labour had not been ſubſtituted in place of the thrift and good management of domeſtic life? Is it not fact, that from the vaſt rains which fall in ſeed-time and harveſt, our flour is from fifteen to twenty per cent. inferior in quality to the flour of moſt parts of Europe? From this extraordinary moiſture, is it not fact that our lands retain conſtant verdure, when moſt of the paſtures of the other nations of Europe are ſhrivelled and parched?—and does not this clearly demonſtrate, that we are by nature inferior in tillage, but ſuperior in paſture?

But analyſe this bounty, and take it on its own merits—You will find it a part of a ſyſtem in which plenty is accounted the heavieſt curſe, becauſe it would prevent the tenants of Ireland, a numerous, induſtrious claſs, from performing thoſe cruel conditions with which they are loaded. You will find it a part of ſyſtem in which ſcarcity is eſteemed a bleſſing, becauſe it enables one claſs in ſociety to make good its engagements, at the expence of millions whom it dooms to miſery and famine. You will find it a part of a ſyſtem which ſubſiſts by the incitement of a goading neceſſity, and not by the cheering reward of liberal wages. You will find it a part of a ſyſtem of infernal invention, whoſe proſperous ſtate is made to depend on the fortuitous evils of the neighbouring world.

If this bounty, from its own nature, muſt prove ſubverſive of national induſtry, it is no leſs ſo of national juſtice. The funds by which this bounty is paid, are raiſed by taxes on conſumable goods, to which every reſident inhabitant contributes, whilſt the vaſt abſentee property does not contribute one ſhilling. Yet, if the principles from which I have reaſoned be juſt, the abſentees are the only perſons who ſhould defray the expence of the bounty.

For,

For, every reſident Landlord, although he ſhould gain by the bounty, yet does he pay a more conſiderable tax, which this enhancement of price on every article of conſumption impoſes; and the reſt of the nation who are not landlords, are not only obliged to pay the tax which defrays the expence of the bounty, but the ſtill heavier tax in the advancement of price on the neceſſaries and conveniences of life they conſume—no part of which applies to the abſentee Iriſh landlord, who expends his income abroad, where neither the price of conſumable goods, nor the value of the money he draws, have been affected by the bounty: Whereby this notable ſcheme has impoſed a heavy and ruinous tax, in order to increaſe thoſe exports, which bring no return; furniſhing another inſtance of Iriſh legiſlative juſtice, laying burdens where none ſhould have been impoſed, and wholly relieving thoſe who ſhould pay the entire. That a Legiſlature ſhould attempt, on a ſlender population, ſunk in indolence from the eaſe with which they ſubſiſted on the almoſt ſpontaneous productions of nature, to rouſe them to induſtry by cauſing an artificial ſcarcity, I can eaſily conceive: But that ſuch expence and pains ſhould be employed to cauſe ſuch ſcarcity and dearneſs of the neceſſaries of life, by this forced exportation, in a teaming population, is a ſyſtem of which language affords me no terms ſufficiently ſtrong to expreſs my abhorrence.

SIXTH DEDUCTION.

The laſt deduction I ſhall mention, which is made from your national wealth, is the enormous expence at which your Government is ſupported.

In the twofold objects of government, the firſt is, the affording protection to every member of the community from the violence or injuſtice of his fellow-citizen. The expence of defending citizen againſt citizen, muſt ever depend on the degree of juſtice on which the conſtitution and laws are eſtabliſhed. When they are ſuch as to ſecure to every member *equally*, the fulleſt enjoyment of his natural rights, the *freeſt* exerciſe of his induſtry, and the moſt *undiſturbed* fruition of its produce—when they open

to

to him every means of acquiring the moſt ample and liberal wages, by which he may procure the neceſſaries and comforts of life—when, by ſecuring to his induſtry the moſt extenſive markets for the work he has wrought, it enſures him conſtant employment—when he ſuffers no peculation—when no deductions are made from his earnings but what his own intereſt tells him he ſhould readily and willingly grant—truſt me, fellow-citizens, a government founded on principles like theſe, would require no expence to ſupport it. In ſuch a government, every citizen would find a protection for every bleſſing, and every comfort, human ſociety was meant to afford. Here the laws would be held in veneration, and the legiſlators would be reſpected, revered and beloved. In this ſtate, no military execution, no baſtilles, no gibbets, no gallies, no burning of houſes, would be required to protect and uphold uſurpation, corruption, and treaſon. At the wave of the conſtable's ſtaff, like the wand of the magician, thouſands would flock to his ſtandard in aid of the law. But when, inſtead of the ſolid baſis of virtue, government is founded on oppreſſion, and the infraction of national right—when a Nation is robbed of its agricultural produce—when the doors of your home markets are thrown wide open to a powerful neighbour, who ſlaps her's in your face—when corruption, when treaſon and uſurpation, have ſquandered the ſacred funds of her wages—when public virtue is private ruin, public apoſtacy the ſure road to fortune and what are called honours—when truth is called treaſon, and traitors are called loyal,—no wonder an inſulted, a pillaged, and an oppreſſed people, ſhould require the bayonet, the flames, and the more deadly corruption, to keep down their writhing; no wonder uſurpers, who wallow in the riches their treaſons procure them, ſhould ſeek that ſhelter from tyranny which juſtice denies them. In a ſtate of this kind, as the diſcontents of the people increaſed, in proportion as tyrannic means had been uſed to ſuppreſs them, an enlightened mind would perceive that force could not put down a reaſoning people, whoſe growing knowledge enabled them, whoſe growing independence entitled them, and whoſe growing numbers compelled them, to demand the abolition of the maſs of abuſes, which, originating in ignorance,

ignorance, have grown into corruption, and, if ſuffered to continue, muſt terminate in famine, in revolution, and in blood. It is not by war, which has immolated the youth of the nation; it is not by war, which has laviſhed the wealth of the people; it is not by war, which has heaped debt upon debt, and burden upon burden; it is not by annulling the trial by jury, nor by exiling thouſands without any trial whatever; it is not by repealing every law by which opinions and perſons had been protected, and by enacting the moſt ſanguinary laws in their ſtead; it is not by deſtroying the preſs; it is not by introducing foreign mercenaries, ſtimulated with additional hire, and letting them looſe with fire and ſword on the people—that they are to be convinced, that a ſyſtem which could require ſuch means of ſupport, does not call for amendment. It is not by heaping calamity on calamity in rapid ſucceſſion, that the public mind can be diſſuaded from believing, that theſe obvious reforms, which ſuch tyrannic meaſures have been adopted to ſtifle, are not now, with more imperious neceſſity, more loudly demanded than ever.

But, why ſhould I waſte time in proving that government, in the hands of Iriſh adminiſtration, has been a ſyſtem of ſupporting the few in oppreſſing the many, inſtead of yielding impartial protection? Has it not been by ſowing, maintaining, and fomenting diviſion, that Iriſh adminiſtrations have governed Ireland? Look to the continuation of civil diſcord, of plunder and bloodſhed, which has infeſted our iſland, ſince the Welch landed, to this inſtant, that theſe hell-hounds intituled Ancient Britons are butchering our diſarmed people.. Look in this century to the writhings of wretchedneſs, of miſery, of want and oppreſſion, under the different ſhapes of White-boys, Right-boys, Hearts-of-oak men, Peep-o'-day boys, and Steel-men. Yet where is there an inſtance on record, in which the Government or Legiſlature in Ireland have inquired into the cauſes of theſe conſtant unerring marks of oppreſſion? No! A ſyſtem of ſmothered war between the oppreſſors and the oppreſſed, could not bear inquiry, for it would bear redreſs. Redreſs means reſtoration of plunder and reſtoration of rights. Therefore

fore ſanguinary laws and military outrage, the expences of which are endleſs, have been ſubſtituted for juſtice, whoſe expences are nothing.

It is in vain to attempt to confute my aſſertion, that diſunion, corruption, uſurpation, and treaſon, are the means by which England has maintained her dominion in Ireland. I will convict her agents from the writings and diſpatches of Strafford. I will convict them upon the teſtimony of Clarendon. I will quote their own words againſt them from the letters of Archbiſhop Boulter, who, talking of Wood's halfpence, ſays, "*But the worſt of this is, that it tends to unite Proteſtant with Papiſt; and whenever that happens, good-bye to the Engliſh intereſt in Ireland for ever.*" Great Heavens! on this ſcale of deſerts, what ſhould be the merits of the preſent adminiſtration in the eyes of their Britiſh employers? With what a diſpatch might Lord Camden emblazon his merits? I aſk the drowſy conſcience of this deputy—I aſk the vindictive accomplices of his adminiſtration, who think they are enveloped in the darkneſs of their murderous deeds—why, in a Government maintained at ſuch an enormous expence, a banditti of ſworn extirpators have been ſuffered to maſſacre ſuch numbers in the county of Armagh, to demoliſh ſo many houſes, and to drive ſo many thouſands, men, women, and infants, into the moſt diſtant parts of the country for protection? Why, with ſuch numbers of troops, have they not only not protected theſe perſecuted citizens, but why, after diſarming the nation, have they armed theſe infatuated bigots? Let me aſk this adminiſtration, whether the enormous expences of government in their hands do not ariſe from the means which they uſe to oppoſe the union, the brotherhood and oblivion of religious feuds, in a country hitherto woefully torn with religious diſſenſions? Nay, let me aſk them, whether ſums are not iſſuing, at this inſtant, from the Public Exchequer, for the infernal purpoſe of organizing a renewal of religious maſſacre and carnage, under the banners of Orangemen, whoſe bond of aſſociation conſiſts in an oath to extirpate their fellow-men who do not profeſs their religion?

The other office of Government is to protect the whole Nation, her Induſtry, her Rights, and her Commerce, from

from the injuries or interference of any other nation whatever. If there be a nation on earth which ſhould be defended at a moderate expence, Ireland ſhould be that nation.

Nations which violate the ſacred rights of other nations, to make conſtitutions, and to eſtabliſh governments of their choice—nations which uſurp dominion in every quarter of the globe; pillaging, ſtarving, and ſlaughtering the unoffending inhabitants of the Eaſt Indies; laſhing the wretches they have doomed to ſlavery in the Weſt Indies; partitioning whole countries for having put down governments they felt oppreſſive, and for forming conſtitutions they thought free—nations which dignify Uſurpation and Robbery with the title of Empire, who gloſs over ſlaughter by calling it glory, and juſtify their inſolence towards every other country under the pretence of maintaining national honour—with violators of the rights of nations like theſe, warfare is ſo engrafted in their ſtate, that you have no means of eſtimating the expence of their wars but by their inability to continue them, nor of the continuance of peace but by the time it will take to recruit them. Violators of the rights of nations like theſe, muſt be in a ſtate of eternal hoſtility with thoſe countries whoſe rights they uſurp, or with rival robbers that would deprive them of their prey. Their arm is raiſed againſt every nation upon earth, and the arms of the nations of the earth are raiſed againſt them. That violators of the rights of nations, who diſſipate the earnings of induſtry, and accumulate burdens, ſhould not ſink in the corruption of the ill-gotten wealth they acquire by plunder, extracted from the blood and torture of innocent, unoffending nations, would be to ſuppoſe that diſtributive juſtice was baniſhed from the earth, and to ſet at nought the moral principles which govern the world. I aſk, in what inſtance has Ireland violated the ſacred rights of fellow-nations? What country does her inſatiable avarice lay in deſolation and in ruin? In the face of the world, in the name of the Iriſh nation, I aſk, what poſſible cauſe for war can Ireland have with any nation on the earth? None, as an aggreſſor. The only cauſe for war her intereſt or her honour can call on her to wage, muſt be againſt the uſurpers of thoſe ſacred

rights

rights which ſhe never violated in other countries, and which, if ſhe has the ſpirit of a nation, ſhe will never ſee paſſively violated in her own.

That you may judge how far protection againſt the interference of other nations has to do with the monſtrous expence of that force with whoſe maintenance your induſtry is ſo grievouſly burdened, compare the condition of Ireland during the American war with her preſent condition. At the former period, the Catholic of Ireland lay proſtrate under the iron hand of oppreſſion, in ſorrow, in poverty, in filth, in famine; robbed of his liberty, ſtript of every privilege that belongs to Man or his nature, without one particle of property he could ſay was his own; his Proteſtant countryman placed on his breaſt, calling to Britain to load him with chains, that with his additional weight he may obſtruct the reſpiration of his Catholic brother—whilſt, pitileſs from bigotry, remorſeleſs from rage, and ſetting at defiance every principle of patriotiſm, honour or juſtice, he baſely ſurrendered his freedom and rights of his country to Britain, for her unnatural ſervice, and called her his guardian, protector and friend.

Thus ſtretched on the burning lake of religious diſſenſion, the moſt humiliating ſpectacle of human debaſement, diſheartened, diſgraced and defeated—Ireland, exhauſted by her inteſtine diviſions, was regarded a prey too contemptible to merit attention. Hence, in the American war, *four thouſand* of the refuſe of the troops of Great Britain were held ſufficient to guard us. But, now that the Catholic has been ſet on his legs, and that his Proteſtant brothers ſtand by him—now that we are an *united* and *powerful* people, *ſixty thouſand* men have been thought inſufficient. I aſk you, is this force to defend us from an invaſion of France, or to ſecure an invaſion of Britain? Look to the facts. Before the American war, England uſurped your legiſlative power and external dominion, and, by an open avowed domination, had ſeized on your rights and your commerce. Seats in Parliament for the King's or the purchaſer's life, ſold for 500l.; when a road or a bridge job, or a turnpike bill, were thought good proſtitute wages. But, now that the ſacrifice of Iriſh rights and Iriſh commerce can be made through the channel of the Iriſh Parliament

ament only, 3000l. have been the ordinary price for a ſeat, though but for eight years; whilſt ſinecure places, penſions and jobs are daily created, that the wages of treaſon may anſwer the new rate of purchaſe. Under the open domination of Britain, your taxes amounted to but half a million; but now, in a few years interval only, during which the Parliament of Ireland has become independent of England, your taxes amount to 3,000,000l. and your debt, which was nothing, is now full ten millions.

Let me unmaſk the real invaſion: let me aſk, is this enormous and overwhelming progreſs in venality and proſtitution, for the purpoſe of perpetuating to England by corruption and treaſon, the uſurpation of the rights and intereſts of my country, which, openly, ſhe ſo lately relinquiſhed? Is it to ſupport this accurſed invaſion of our national rights, that our country has been filled with the troops of Great Britain? If the independence of our country is but a name, and that the open, avowed domination of Great Britain has been exchanged for a deadly influence gained by corruption and treaſon, to what end have we been drained, even to beggary and famine, to pay for a government to guard us from foreign oppreſſion? With the ſtrongeſt pretenſions to cheap government, with compactneſs of territory, with inſular ſtrength, and without a ſingle act of injuſtice on our part againſt any nation upon earth, where is there a country whoſe expences are more enormous from ſuch mutilated means, or whoſe progreſs in debt is more rapid? To detail the various extortions of Iriſh Government, would fill a volume of ſuch jobbing, ſuch corruption and plunder, as is not to be found in hiſtory, nor even in fable. Were it not that it would lead me too far from my ſubject, I could ſhew you that a revenue extorted by intoxication and gaming from the poor and the wretched, whilſt the lands of the rich were free from all taxes and burdens, fully anſwered the injuſtice and vices by which it was raiſed, by the waſte and corruption with which it has been expended. I might aſk, what had 120,000l. annually paid in penſions to the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, their aſſignees and their creatures, to do with your external or internal protection? I might aſk, what had the enormous ſum of 500,000l. annually

nually paid in ſinecure places in the ſame Parliamentary channel, with overpaid deputy on deputy, for tranſacting the buſineſs, if there chanced to be any, to do with your external or internal protection? I might aſk, what account has been given of the 120,000l. annually paſſed in the public accounts as incidents, a term which is well known to mean the peculation and jobs for which ſome plauſible name cannot be found? I might aſk, why thoſe ogres of the revenue continue to plunder the nation, nominally, of twenty per cent. for its collection, but really of forty; the exactions and extortions of a ſingle collector often amounting to one thouſand pounds yearly, whilſt the ſalary which appears in the public accounts does not appear to be more than one hundred? But if you wiſh to be informed of Iriſh politics, and Iriſh finances, it is not by reading Harrington, nor Sydney, nor Locke, nor Stewart, nor Monteſquieu, nor Smith's "Wealth of Nations." No! it is the Court Calendar * you muſt examine. There the conſtituents, repreſenting themſelves, with a correct liſt of the ſinecure places and penſions they hold, will exhibit a faithful deſcription of Iriſh adminiſtration, Iriſh politics, and Iriſh finances.

Having now given you a ſummary account of the manner in which you have been robbed of your unalienable, national means of acquiring national capital, and of the various ways by which the ſlender ſtock your induſtry has gathered, under its mutilated means, has been plundered and diſſipated; I truſt I have impreſſed upon your minds, that your national capital, that ſacred fund for the employment of your national induſtry, has been cruelly, corruptly and enormouſly plundered.

How the Rate of Wages has been reduced by this Plunder of the National Capital.

The firſt evil which I ſhall ſtate, that has ariſen from this robbery of your national capital, is the low rate of wages by which your national induſtry is ſo miſerably paid.

* So unbluſhing is Uſurpation and Corruption in Ireland, that the common Almanacks contain the names of the Proprietor of each ſeat in Parliament, with a faithful Catalogue of the Wages which each Proprietor earns.

This is an obvious and incontrovertible concluſion—the rate of wages, in every country, muſt depend on the proportion which capital bears to population. If the ſacred fund for the employment of induſtry has been protected and foſtered by an honeſt Government and a faithful Legiſlature, its abundance muſt enſure the induſtrious ample wages with all its bleſſings. But when it has been betrayed and diſſipated by corruption and treaſon, the laborious are thrown at the mercy of their employers, and the induſtrious maſs, inſtead of receiving liberal wages as a right, are reduced, by an accurſed chain of ſyſtematic oppreſſion, to proſtrate themſelves with abject ſervility before their employers, and to beg for their miſerable hire, more as alms than as wages. Often and often have I heard humanity call out for a law, for doubling the wages for the People of Ireland. This was indeed the language of humanity; but it was the language of one who knew not the means by which his prayers could be accompliſhed. No law to oblige the employer to augment wages, can create one farthing of capital, or diminiſh the population; and yet, to enable the employer to augment wages, it muſt have done one or other: for it is maniſeſt to the meaneſt capacity, that, as the preſent national capital can do no more than furniſh the preſent low wages to the exiſting population, a law which would oblige the employers to double the wages muſt leave one-half the population without any wages at all. Although it cannot be effected by direct laws, forcing the employers to pay the labourers more than the proportion between capital and population would have obliged them, let us not hence conclude, that the Legiſlature cannot paſs laws by which the national capital could be augmented, and the wages of the induſtrious bettered. It is by paſſing laws founded on national juſtice and national right, that this great end can be obtained. It is by theſe laws only that nations can acquire national wealth; and it is the abundance of national wealth which enſures, to the induſtrious, liberal, generous wages.

That,

That, from the Robbery of the National Capital, the Tenants are forced to pay ſuch immoderate high Rents.

The next evil which has ariſen from this reduction and pillage of the national capital, is the preſent high rents which the tenants of Ireland are obliged to pay for their farms.

The value of land, like every other article for human uſe, is regulated by the proportion which the quantity bears to the number of bidders who muſt be ſupplied. By diſſipating the national capital, and by ſacrificing the markets and commerce of Ireland, the people have been prevented from ſelling manufactures, if they could make them, as effectually as if the Legiſlature of Ireland had paſſed a law which directly prohibited their fabrication or ſale. Thus, by ſacrificing every other ſpecies of induſtry but that which is employed in famiſhed and beggarly farming, the renting of land is almoſt the only means the People of Ireland can procure a ſubſiſtence. Hence, as the population increaſes, the number of bidders who cannot live without land is alſo augmented, until they ſo bid againſt one another, that the portion of produce which they can retain for themſelves, is not ſufficient to afford ſhelter, cloathing or food for them, their wives and their children. If the national capital, inſtead of being pillaged and plundered, had been protected, millions would have flowed upon agriculture; whereby the preſent wretched farmers, without means, and without capital, would be ſucceeded by wealthy intelligent yeomen. The place of the preſent half-ſtarved working cattle would be ſupplied by ſtrong well-fed teams: houſes fit for human beings, out-houſes and barns for farming uſe would be built: lands would be drained and manured, and gates be erected: millions would be employed in manufactures and commerce, whereby thouſands of occupations would be created, which would prevent lands from being at a monopoly price: home markets would ſtart up at the doors of the farmer as the manufacture increaſed; and the vaſt deduction which is now made from the value of materials and proviſions, by the tranſportation and freight of ſuch bulky commodities, would be ſaved,

and ten times their value virtually exported in the complete manufacture; whereby the lands of Ireland would yield fourfold more than at preſent, the rents of the landlords might be increaſed, whilſt that part of the produce which would be retained by the tenants would be fully adequate to ſupply them and their families with every comfort of life.

The Deſtruction of National Induſtry from the high Profits of Capital.

The next evil I ſhall ſtate which has ariſen from the pillage and robbery of your national capital, is the deſtruction of every ſpecies of national induſtry which it has cauſed.

The profits of capital are regulated in every country by the competition which exiſts between the capitaliſts. The more abundant the capital, the greater the competition, and conſequently, the profits are higher. When it is conſidered how largely the profits of capital enter into the price of every ſpecies of merchandize and manufacture—when it is obſerved what an advantage the induſtry of theſe countries poſſeſſes, whoſe profits of capital are moderate, over thoſe whoſe profits are high—when it is conſidered, what a greater diviſion of labour takes place, what a ſuperiority of machinery, and what a vaſt abridgment of labour, theſe circumſtances occaſion—it is impoſſible not to be ſtrongly impreſſed with the extent of the deterioration which a nation muſt ſuffer, in every part of its national induſtry, from the plunder and robbery of its national capital.

The National Mind is injured by the Plunder of Induſtry's ſacred Funds.

That the induſtrious claſſes, on whoſe labour the proſperity and happineſs, not only of themſelves, but of every other claſs in ſociety, ſo wholly depend, ſhould not receive ſufficient wages to reſcue them from famine and miſery, is a reflection at which the heart ſickens, and humanity grows pale. But in what terms ſhall I deſcribe this laſt evil, which ariſes

ariſes from the ſacrilegious plunder of induſtry's holy exchequer?—whereby the human mind is debaſed and brutalized; that mind which converts ſwamps and barrenneſs into fertility, or reduces the moſt fruitful ſoil, the moſt favoured ſituation, into a brothel for proſtitution, a ſtye for wretchedneſs, and a receptacle for every ſpecies of oppreſſor and oppreſſed. The moſt valuable property a nation can poſſeſs, is an highly cultivated mind. No property gives ſo decided an advantage to one country over another, let the ſoil, the climate, or the ſituation on the globe, be what they may, as a ſuperiority of intellect. In vain ſhall you have a fertile ſoil, a temperate climate, and an inſular ſtate, unleſs you have minds ſufficiently educated to know how to turn them to the greateſt advantage. Look to Holland! from the moment ſhe threw off the Spaniſh yoke, and eſtabliſhed Liberty, how ſhe converted ſwamps, reſcued from the ſea, into a garden! Look to Switzerland! from the moment ſhe threw off the Auſtrian yoke, how ſhe has cultivated her mountains to the higheſt ſummit! Look to America! from the day ſhe freed herſelf and her induſtry from the domination of England, with what rapidity ſhe has cleared her woods and drained her moraſſes! Compare the wealth, the comforts, and happineſs of theſe nations, under the obſtacles which nature has placed in their way, with the moſt favoured countries whoſe induſtry is obſtructed by tyranny, and ſold by treaſon. See what extremes of wealth and poverty, inſolence and meanneſs, luxury and famine, idleneſs and meagre exertion, their inhabitants exhibit. O Liberty! deity of my adoration! in vain ſhall the foul calumny of proſtitution attempt to ſully your purity, by confounding you with that licentiouſneſs which you abhor, that anarchy you execrate, or with the violation of that property you only can raiſe, you only can protect. Yes! Induſtry is a ſcion of Liberty: ſhe can ſpring but from her root; ſhe can exiſt but under her ſhelter. Induſtry lives but by the ſacred fund which rewards her exertions. It is Liberty which rears and protects this ſacred fund; it is by deſpotiſm, corruption and treaſon, that it is ſquandered. You, then, accurſed! who have betrayed and plundered this ſacred fund—it is you who have

deſtroyed

deſtroyed the induſtry of your country; it is you who have vitiated her mind.

Liberal reward invigorates induſtry. It leads the mind to activity and diligence in the uſeful occupations of life; teaches the comforts of cleanlineſs, the advantages of ſobriety and temperance, the love of order, and the obſervance of decency; enſures the calm ſerenity of a good conſcience, and excludes the agitation and remorſe of a bad one: it ſupplies the mind with conſtant employment, by which it attaches it to virtue, and reſcues it from vice; inſtils a love of the country by the bleſſings it imparts; eſtabliſhes a proud independence; and teaches the mind to account a life ſtained with diſhonour, a burden too grievous to be longer ſupported. Theſe, honeſt patriots, virtuous legiſlators, and upright magiſtrates! are the bleſſings your labours beſtow on a grateful, a virtuous, a proſperous, and a happy people.

If theſe are the bleſſings that flow from a faithful guardianſhip of induſtry's ſacred funds—if theſe are the praiſes due to thoſe who have diſcharged this pious truſt with fidelity—how ſhall I deſcribe the miſery that flows from the venality, corruption, and plunder, by which theſe ſacred funds have been diſſipated? What are the execrations that ſhould fall on the heads of the ſacrilegious banditti by whom they are ſeized and betrayed?

Robbed of all its wages, induſtry ſinks into laſſitude. The mind, faint from hopeleſs exertion, finds no inducement to action, no ſpur to invention, no deſire for inſtruction. Indolence ſeizes on the victim, when induſtry brings no reward, no bleſſing. It conſigns the wretch it has made, to wallow in filth, by placing the means of being cleanly beyond his attainment. His mind, ſurrounded with the boundleſs proſpect of miſery, flies to the oblivion of intoxication, to relieve it from the torture of thought: deprived of conſtant and cheering employment to attach it to virtue, it falls into vice; whilſt, compelled by his own and his children's wants, the calls of nature convert crime into duty. Without property, comforts, or rights to require protection, he regards laws as reſtrictions, which prevent him from ſeizing on the means of relieving his wants. Robbed of the peace and ſecurity attendant on the

the obſervance of juſtice—ſtung with agitation and fears which await its infraction—immerſed in want, abject, dependant, and in ſlavery—loſing all love for his country in the miſery it teems with—his mind lies vitiated, debaſed, and degraded. Theſe, ſtupid, venal, vicious legiſlators! are your works. Theſe, mercenary traitors! are your deeds. Theſe, panders of legiſlative treaſon and national diſhonour! are the calamities with which you afflict a miſerable, diſcontented, execrating nation.

Compare the natural diſpoſitions of my countrymen with the perverſions corruption has wrought. Behold the hoſt—with what hoſpitality he entertains his gueſt!—what joy ſparkles in his eyes when he ſees he has ſucceeded in rendering his houſe agreeable! his wife and daughters amiable, affectionate, unaffected, partaking and contributing to the general joy! his boys, too, attentive, obliging, good-natured, ſeconding the wiſhes and participating in the delights of their parents, which nothing diſturbs but the idea of departure, when an entreaty from every tongue begs a farther ſtay, and even the infants cling about the knees of the gueſt, and liſp out their little prayers, as if hoſpitality had been an intuitive virtue! If you enter but the wretcheſt hovel, all the poor ſoul has he lays before you, whilſt the loſs of his humble meal is forgotten in the exerciſe of this national duty!—Theſe are the natural virtues of my beloved country! In the boundleſs hoſpitality of my countrymen, I behold the emblem of the fertility of its ſoil; and, in the mild, endearing, affectionate diſpoſition of my countrywomen, I ſee the emblem of its temperate climate.

But when I turn from this delightful contemplation—when I view the Gentry of Ireland as public men, as Citizens who ſhould diſcharge their duty to their Country—inſtead of that proud independence which dignifies the ſoul, inſtead of that love of the country, that fire, which impels the patriot to offer up his life to its freedom—my heart ſickens at the ſight of the continued chain of meanneſs, venality and dependence, by which the entire mind is bound in an organized ſyſtem of corruption, from the Caſtle to the Cabin, where conſequence and emolument are purchaſed by the moſt abject, unlimited abandonment

of

of the mind's independence, of the impulſe of honour, of the dictates of reaſon, of the freedom of opinion, and the choice of action. When, amongſt the youth of this Gentryſhip, I look for that indignant abhorrence of oppreſſion, that high ſpirit which ſpurns ſervile ſubmiſſion, or thoſe ebullitions of patriotiſm which overleap the diſcretion of riper years, pleads its privilege in juſtification, and finds a ready acquittal from judges who have not forgotten the days of their youth, I behold them ſneaking into life under the yoke of proſtitution and corruption, and into the Senate under the ſubjugation and ſuppreſſion of every honeſt thought and of every fine feeling—bred up in the principles of their fathers, in the faith and belief that patriotiſm was ruin, but that venality and infamy were the ways to preferment and fortune—with hearts ſo ſteeled againſt every generous principle, that the glorious examples of Greece and Rome have become ſubjects for brutal degeneracy to ſcoff at, where corruption had extinguiſhed every propenſity to emulation, exhibiting all the depravity of age, without one ſingle virtue of youth.

In vain I fly from this diſgraceful debaſement of mind in the upper claſs, to ſeek content and happineſs in the lower. When I have beheld a ſequeſtered hovel, Here, at leaſt, ſaid I, the owner muſt find a ſanctuary from the ravenous gripe of oppreſſion. But alas! even here, the land-ſhark, the tithe-ſhark, the collectors of land-rates and church-rates, have prowled, one after the other; like the hawk, the kite, the eagle and vulture, paſſing in conſtant ſucceſſion, in the moſt lonely retirement, in ſearch of their prey, where the ſufferings of poverty were ſecondary to the dread and horror of being devoured. How many thouſand inſtances of prowling and prey have I witneſſed in Connaught, in Munſter, in Leinſter, and even in Ulſter! In the awful preſence of God, I aſk thoſe men who wring the wages of their proſtitution from the wretchedneſs they have created by an unconditional ſurrender of their opinion, their honour and character, by ſacrificing the rights, the intereſts and liberties of their country—are they aware of the humiliating ſtate of debaſement and miſery to which their venality and treaſon have reduced the millions, duty and juſtice required, they ſhould raiſe and protect?

Inſtead

Inſtead of ſelling to Britain the ſeveral ſources from which the ſacred fund for Ireland's induſtry ſhould be ſupplied and augmented, conceive what a vaſt acceſſion of capital, the millions now annually exported without a return would furniſh. Conceive your home market, which is now ſacrificed to Britain by a total infraction of reciprocity, placed on that equitable baſis which national juſtice ſo imperiouſly calls for—conceive the markets of England thrown open to Ireland, on the ſame conditions the markets of Ireland are thrown open to her—conceive the millions which are now ſquandered in theſe monſtrous eſtabliſhments, under the pretence of promoting religion, the millions ſquandered in ruinous litigation, and in the thouſand channels of poiſonous corruption, reſtored to the ſacred fund for the employment of national induſtry—conceive your commerce freed from thoſe impoſts with which it is loaded to pay for its ruin, and reſcued from thoſe ſwarms of blighting locuſts that generate on corruption, fatten on extortion, and make perjury their ordinary regimen—could the mind figure to the moſt enraptured imagination, a more delightful proſpect than the harbours of Ireland would furniſh, thronged with the ſhips of the commercial world, crowding to ſupply an induſtrious and proſperous country with the productions of their's, and taking the ſurplus of your's in return? Who can calculate the effects of ſuch an acceſſion of capital acting on a population of four millions of healthy, intelligent, enterpriſing people, with ſuch advantages of fertility, ſituation, and inſular bleſſings? How many millions, who now drag on a miſerable exiſtence, in ſtruggling to maintain themſelves and their children upon the wretched wages the preſent wretched capital affords them, would be reſtored to plenty, comfort and eaſe? Conceive how the preſent degraded and debaſed mind of a people bent to the earth under poverty and oppreſſion, would, under a juſt application of the funds for inſtruction, be raiſed to independence and freedom—conceive how many who now aſſume the name of Gentlemen but to diſgrace it—who ſwarm through the Country under the various ſhapes of perjured grand-jury jobbers, patronage expectants for proſtituted dependence, revenue officers, land pirates, tithe-ſharks, hedge attorneys, and thouſands ſuch like, who live by the oppreſſion and plunder

of

of the poor and the wretched—would then be tempted to lay aſide their preſent diſgraceful occupations, to ſeek their fortunes in the profits of well-rewarded induſtry.

When I compare the proud ſituation my country ſhould hold amongſt nations, were ſhe poſſeſſed of thoſe unalienable rights no power on earth has a right to uſurp, with the contemptible inſignificance to which I ſee her reduced —when I compare the wealth and the bleſſings my country ought to poſſeſs, with the poverty and wretchedneſs with which ſhe is loaded—my heart is torn with indignation, with ſhame, with grief: And whilſt the gloom of a ſolitary dungeon, the calumny and inſults with which my name has been loaded, the being torn from every endearing tie that was linked to my heart, have not been able to extract one iron drop; at the recollection of the wrongs and ſufferings of my beloved country, tears guſh from my eyes, and the hand which has been charged with having written treaſon againſt her, would gladly graſp the ſword to avenge injuries it can ſcarcely hold the pen to deſcribe.

The Remedy for the Evils of our Political State.

To remedy theſe manifold evils, to which I have traced the miſeries and ſufferings of my country, it has been acknowledged by every man who is not within the pale of uſurpation and corruption, that CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION, and a reſtoration of POPULAR REPRESENTATION, are the only efficient expedients. But if juſtice, which requires that no man, much leſs the decided majority of a nation, ſhould be deprived of his political rights on account of his religious opinions, ordains that the Catholics ſhould not have fewer rights than the Proteſtants; and if it is an incontrovertible fact, that ſuch is the preſent uſurpation of rights, as well Proteſtant as Catholic, that even though the Catholics were admitted to the fulleſt participation of the rights poſſeſſed by their Proteſtant fellow-citizens at preſent, both Proteſtant and Catholic would find, that the rights of which they were robbed, were infinitely more numerous, and more important, than thoſe they enjoyed, even before the preſent annihilation of every veſtige of conſtitutional right—it muſt appear manifeſt to the

the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, that Catholic exaltation to the preſent height of Proteſtant freedom only, muſt prove wholly inadequate to the eſtabliſhment of our NATIONAL LIBERTY. Diſdaining, then, to add one argument more, to the thouſands which remain already unanſwered, in favour of the emancipation of my Catholic Countrymen, letting it reſt on the ſolid baſis of juſtice, and blending it with the *General Cauſe*, I ſhall conclude this addreſs with an inveſtigation of our *General Right*.

The Remedy to be had by eſtabliſhing the true Political Principles only.

I am aware that I am embarking on that vaſt and important ſubject, the Rights of Man, which agitates the moſt civilized parts of the world. I am aware that the popular mind has been diſtracted with that chaos of controverſy with which it has been overwhelmed by the furious, the bigoted, the ignorant, the prejudiced, and the venal. I am aware that the public mind has been dragooned and deluded, by a man notorious for the total abandonment of every principle which has recommended him to the public confidence—at the head of every thing that was corrupt, or that could be corrupted—ſupported by the wildeſt and moſt extravagant declamation of men of the moſt ungovernable paſſions, the moſt inveterate prejudices, and of a total deficiency of judgment—joined by the timid, the ignorant, and thoſe who, regarding public truſt as a ſpeculative profeſſion for private emolument, made alarm an excuſe for deſerting thoſe whoſe adherence to the principles of Liberty appeared to them too loſing a game to anſwer their views. I am aware that this heterogeneous collection of knaves and dupes, have branded every propoſal for reforming monſtrous and growing abuſes, and every reference to the principles of Liberty, as treaſonable attempts to ſubvert the Conſtitution. I am aware that their leader, by making the abuſes of the Conſtitution to ſtand for the Conſtitution itſelf, has had the addreſs to convince them, that ſubverting the liberties of the country, was ſupporting the conſtitution; and that to tear away every reſtraint, by which the vaſt power with which he is inveſted, had been controuled,

controuled, to heap debt upon debt, abuſe upon abuſe, expence upon expence, and corruption on corruption, were the only effectual remedies by which new and unheard-of calamities were to be cured. I am aware, that, as long as the mover and manager of this aggregate maſs can perſuade them that the reſources of the country are inexhauſtible, and that, as long as the facility with which he continues to draw millions after millions from the fund of national induſtry, to ſquander them in ſupporting his power and projects, gains him credit for his fallacious aſſertion of the proſperous ſtate of the nation, it will not be in the power of reaſon to work a conviction againſt the deluſion: But I am aware, alſo, that when the confidence which has ariſen from this falſe aſſertion of inexhauſtible reſources, from the pomp of war, and the glare of extravagance, ſhall ſhortly be ſucceeded by the deſpondency and horror of national bankruptcy and univerſal calamity, the violation of principles will be grievouſly felt, and their ſterling value ſhortly acknowledged. I have clung to them in the worſt of times; and, under the heavieſt misfortunes, will never ceaſe, but with my life, to offer them for your adoption. Truſt me, my countrymen, that to explain the political phænomena of our times, to which it is agreed on all ſides the hiſtory of mankind affords nothing analogous, the primordial principles of human nature are the rudder, the compaſs and polar ſtar, by which you muſt ſteer in the ſtorm, in the new and unexplored regions which human ſociety has ſo recently entered. By theſe you will ſee, that mankind are advancing into a ſtate far beyond any thing they had ever attained; where, as the maſs have changed their dependencies, relations, and habits of thinking, their inſtitutions muſt undergo a ſimilar change. Every work in the creation has its fixed principles of exiſtence and action. When Newton found out the principle of gravitation, he put to rout the thouſand abſurdities which preceded this ſimple diſcovery; and the ſcience of the movements of the myriads of worlds became intelligible to the moſt humble capacity. And, as ſelf-intereſt, tempered by ſympathy, is the acknowledged principle which regulates and governs the exiſtence and movements of human action and human ſociety, why ſhould we not account for the

phœnomena

phœnomena which have appeared in one ſcience, as well as thoſe which appear in another, by a ſtrict adherence to principle?

The Laws which regulate the Deſcent, Transfer, or Sale of Property, regulate the Nature of Government.

PROPERTY is the machinery by which ſelf-intereſt is worked. It is a collection of the neceſſaries, conveniences, and luxuries, for human uſe; and, as long as mankind are ſubject to their preſent wants, deſires, and vanities, thoſe who poſſeſs property muſt poſſeſs the means of influencing the conduct, and commanding the ſervices, of thoſe who have none. Hence the laws which monopolize property, monopolize power alſo: hence the direction which the laws give to the deſcent of property, the freedom or reſtraint with which they admit of its transfer or ſale, influence the nature of Government; and hence the abſolute neceſſity for examining the nature of thoſe prediſpoſing laws reſpecting property, in order to account for the phœnomena which appear in civil ſociety. If the exiſting inſtitutions are conſonant to the ſelf-intereſt of the bulk of mankind, in their preſent advanced ſtate of knowledge, independence and induſtry, they will ſtand: But, if they are repugnant to their ſelf-intereſt, no force, no device, can uphold them. Convinced of this truth, I will judge of their validity, or fall, by the ſtandard of the ſelf-intereſt of mankind.

The Origin and Effects of the Laws for the Monopoly of Property.

IN the early and barbarous ages of Europe, the only property which was in exiſtence, was the ſpontaneous productions of the earth; and when lands were monopolized, all power was monopolized alſo. Hence, by eſtabliſhing the monopolizing laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements, in favour of a few proprietors, all power became confined to theſe few. The maſs of the people were conſigned to dependance and ſlavery; and an Ariſtocratic deſpotiſm was eſtabliſhed over men, whoſe minds, and whoſe

whoſe wants, were nothing removed from the ſtate of the herds they attended. Bred up in the habit of thinking that the inhabitants belonged to the ſoil, ſervice appeared a natural return for the ſubſiſtence the proprietor gave them. The vaſſal, wholly ignorant of his ſelf-intereſt on the broad baſis of Man's impreſcriptible right, ſaw it only in the degraded, ſubordinate ſtate of a ſlave. Finding that, in his iſolated, helpleſs condition, reſiſtance muſt prove deſtructive, and that, to promote his ſelf-intereſt, he muſt uſe his beſt exertions to recommend himſelf to the lord of the ſoil—the ſelf-intereſt of the vaſſal was ſo blended with the ſelf-intereſt of the maſter, that fidelity, allegiance, loyalty, and clan-ſhip, became the main bond between the governed and governing parties; and the ſelf-intereſt of the whole ſociety was ſo centered in clanſhip that the meaneſt vaſſal felt as much intereſted in every thing which aggrandized the clan, as the lord of the horde. In this ſtate, which is the true ſtate of hereditary ariſtocracy, the inſtitutions founded on thoſe laws had nothing to fear from the reſiſtance of ſelf-intereſt on the part of the people.

The Phœnomenon which has appeared in the Political State of Europe accounted for, by conſidering the effects of the Laws for the Monopoly of Property.

HERE I could wiſh the public mind would pauſe, and look back on this barbarous ſtate, from which thoſe laws of monopoly, ariſtocracy, and deſpotiſm, originally ſprung: For it is from the pernicious conſequences which have followed from the continuation of thoſe laws of monopoly, in the commercial and civilized ſtate of the nations of Europe, that I mean to trace this phœnomenon which has appeared. It is from the continuance of thoſe laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements, that I mean to account for the revolution which has taken place in parts of Europe, and for that revolution which muſt go through every other commercial and civilized part where thoſe laws are in force: the truth of which will appear from demonſtrating how incompatible thoſe laws are with the ſelf-intereſt of the bulk of mankind, and how ſeverely they feel that they are ſo.

That

That theſe Laws of Monopoly are injurious to the Self-Intereſt of Mankind, by militating againſt the Political Oeconomy of Nations.

THE direct and obvious tendency of theſe laws is to ſupport a monopoly of land, and to prevent it from breaking down into ſmaller portions by equitable and natural laws of deſcent, whereby tenants on ſhort leaſes have been ſubſtituted in place of ſmall proprietors. It cannot be controverted, that, even on cultivated land, the ability of a proprietor who has the whole produce to expend in cultivation, muſt be greater than that of the tenant, who is obliged to pay ſuch a conſiderable part of the produce in rent to a landlord; and that the inclination, the affection and intereſt of a ſmall proprietor, who has the whole benefit of his improvements ſecured to him and his family for ever, muſt lead him to make better and more durable improvements, than a tenant on a ſhort or uncertain tenure, which may or may not be renewed, according to the caprice of a landlord, but, at all events, to be raiſed in proportion to the extent of the improvements he ſhall have made.

But on uncultivated lands the evil is infinitely worſe: For, as the only inducement Man has to employ his labour, or to expend his capital, is the profit they are likely to yield, it can never be the intereſt of a tenant on a determinable tenure to improve, at ſuch an expence as uncultivated lands muſt require, for another to reap the advantage. Hence the effect of thoſe laws all over Europe, where they are in force, has been, that the cultivation of the land is infinitely behind what it otherwiſe would be, and that ſuch immenſe tracts of land, even in the moſt wealthy countries of Europe, are wholly uncultivated; which has proved deſtructive to the intereſt of the lower claſſes by diminiſhing the ſupply of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life, and has been ſeverely felt in the moſt populous and commercial nations.

But the pernicious effects of theſe laws of monopoly have not been confined to injuring agriculture only. They have extended their baneful influence to every branch of political œconomy.

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I have obſerved, that the induſtry of nations depended on the ſtate of the national capital which incites it. This valuable fund can be augmented only by the thrift and good management of individuals, and diminiſhed by their extravagance. But it is the nature of men poſſeſſed of great hereditary property to be extravagant, whilſt it is the nature of men of moderate fortunes to be the reverſe: And ſo generally is this the caſe, that it is difficult to find an inſtance of a large hereditary property that is, not only, not expended unproductively in vanity and folly, but that is not encumbered with conſiderable debts, for ſums borrowed from the funds of induſtry, and ſquandered in idleneſs; whilſt, among men of moderate fortunes, you will not find one in a thouſand who has not added to the national fund by thrift and good management. Beſides, laws like theſe, founded in injuſtice, paſs, from habit, on the minds of thoſe who live under them, for juſtice. Hence merchants, factors, and men who make large fortunes by their induſtry, are led to leave the bulk of their acquirement to an eldeſt ſon, and to diſinherit the reſt of their children; whereby immenſe ſums are drawn from the ſacred fund of induſtry, to be expended in unproductive pomp and vanity, inſtead of being divided amongſt a number, who would have continued to employ it in the way it was originally acquired.

Theſe Laws are not only ſubverſive of Political Oeconomy, in all its branches; but they are ſubverſive, alſo, of the Laws of Juſtice, of Nature, and of Social Happineſs.

Is it not from the operation of theſe laws, that the younger children of monopoliſts theſe laws create, are bred up in a ſtate of luxury and extravagance, during their father's life time, which they are unable to ſupport honeſtly after, from being diſinherited at his death? Is it not from the operation of theſe laws, that this extenſive claſs, who ſhould be the hopes of the genius and ſpirit of the nation, contract habits and wants which fit them for dependence and proſtitution? Is it not from the operation of theſe laws, that an eldeſt ſon is inveſted with that ſhare of property that enables him to monopolize political power, which he ſells for public money, wherewith he gratifies the wants and

and habits of his diſinherited family, at the ſacrifice of the independence and patriotiſm of thoſe who are bought, and at the expence of the rights, the liberties and property of the people, who are plundered to pay for the diſgraceful and ruinous purchaſe? Is it not from the powerful impulſe of paternal affection to counteract the effects of theſe laws, by which children have been diſinherited by the parent before he had felt the force of a parent's affection, that there is ſcarcely an inſtance where the father and the heir-apparent are not at variance, from the means which the former purſues to prevail on the latter to provide for thoſe very children, whom the ſettlement, which confers the whole eſtate on one ſon, has ſo cruelly beggared?

The baneful effect of theſe laws, is to create a few overgrown rich men, and to keep the maſs of the people from being as opulent, as comfortable, and as independent, as they otherwiſe would be; by which ſocial happineſs has been materially injured. Who will compare a ſtate of ſociety, where the many are immerſed in extreme poverty, and the few are gorged with inordinate wealth, with a ſociety where theſe extremes are deſtroyed, and general mediocrity pervades the entire? In this natural and juſt ſtate, the improvement of the mind and the exertions of talents are called forth, from their being the only means by which men can gratify their rational wants and deſires. The extraordinary energies of the ſoul are excited, by being the only means of attaining conſideration, or conſequence, in the eyes of the world. Good temper, affability, and good manners, are cultivated, from their being the only paſſports to the eſteem or the affection of their aſſociates. This eſtate fits mankind for giving, and receiving, thoſe interchanges of kindneſſes, by which friendſhips are made and confirmed; whilſt eaſe, cordiality, and good ſenſe, pervade this happy ſtate, where ſociety is rational recreation from rational purſuits, in which the heart, unadulterated by vanity, preſerves thoſe fine-ſpun feelings which conſtitute the higheſt ſtate of human felicity. Contraſt this delightful ſtate with the meanneſs and ſervility which abject poverty generates in the maſs of mankind. Contraſt it with that ſtate in which the energy of the ſoul is deſtroyed in minds born to a profuſion of every thing it could wiſh or deſire,

independent of any exertion it need make to attain them. See to what adulteration the mind born to great wealth is expoſed, from the adulation and meanneſs by which the indigent ſolicit its favour. See, when the mind paſſes that degree of wealth which is capable of ſatisfying every rational deſire, how vitiated and deſtructive it becomes, in launching into vanity and vice, and in purchaſing up the will, the opinion and independence of the poor and needy. Who that will not prefer that ſtate, which would reſult from the laws of nature and juſtice, to that by by which theſe infernal laws of monopoly have debaſed and degraded the world? Who is ſo depraved as to prefer a tinſel, gaudy, liſtleſs pageant, ſet here and there, upon a ground of human wretchedneſs and miſery; where the human ſpecies, even in the moſt populous countries where theſe laws are in force, are haraſſed to ſkeletons to earn ſubſiſtence; whilſt the food they eat, the draught they drink, the cloaths they wear, the houſe they inhabit, the air they breathe, and the light they ſee by, are taxed, that the hard-earned wages of induſtry, may paſs into the rapacious hands theſe laws have inveſted with power, without reſtraint or controul? Who is ſo depraved as to prefer this ſtate of miſery, formed by the extremes of wealth and poverty, drudgery and liſtleſſneſs, to the cheerful, joyous ſtate of general plenty and happy mediocrity; where, in a teeming population, the eye is feaſted with the delightful proſpect of the higheſt cultivation, abounding with habitations, emblems of cleanlineſs, of comfort and plenty, inhabited by a people whoſe neat attire, whoſe affable manner, whoſe ſleek and joyous countenance, beſpeak moderate labour, with well-rewarded induſtry, whilſt the ear is enraptured with the carol and the ſong, where the light foot beats time to the ſtill lighter heart, exhibiting a country alive to joy, to freedom and to happineſs?

Thoſe are bleſſings which theſe laws of monopoly have diſſipated, without conferring one ſingle benefit in alleviation on mankind. If it is pretended that theſe laws are uſeful in guarding againſt the extravagance of mankind, I anſwer, that the great proprietors whom thoſe laws have created, and whom they are ſtill, in vain, retained to ſupport, are the moſt extravagant claſs in ſociety; and that

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the few inſtances of imprudence which are to be found amongſt thoſe of moderate fortunes, have ariſen from their minds being debauched by the example of vanity and folly which their rich neighbours have ſet them.

If it is pretended that theſe laws of monopoly oblige parents to provide for their children, I anſwer, that they are laws of diſinheritance; and, that they were not ſo, I will appeal to you, who have felt what it is to have children, whether the ſtrength of paternal affection is not a ſufficient and the beſt guarantee for the performance of this paramount duty; and if any one ſhould be found vile enough to deny it, he would only bear teſtimony to the depravity of his own heart, but not againſt the validity of paternal affection.

If it ſhould be pretended, that the extravagance of theſe few overgrown rich gives encouragement to induſtry, than which a more falſe or miſchievous notion cannot be propagated or accredited, I anſwer, that the national induſtry, which is now expended in making the trinkets and baubles, which are neither conveniences, elegancies, nor neceſſaries, for thoſe over-wealthy, would be better excited and better employed in producing the neceſſaries and comforts of life for the maſs of the people, who, by the abolition of theſe laws, and the diffuſion of property, would be enabled to buy and conſume them—I anſwer, that it would be more for the comfort, the improvement and happineſs of mankind, if the vaſt proportion of induſtry which is now waſted in fabricating objects of mere vanity and faſhion, which theſe laws create a race to conſume, in a courſe of emulous hoſtility, and the moſt frivolous contention that ever tortured the mind or vitiated the heart—were employed in conſtructing better houſes, and in furniſhing better cloathing and food, for the induſtrious, unvitiated claſſes, who compoſe the bulk of mankind.

If it is pretended that theſe overgrown fortunes give encouragement to the arts, I anſwer, that the abolition of theſe laws of monopoly, by diffuſing general wealth, would diffuſe general education and knowledge, which is the true ſource of every art; and that the general opulence of a nation is a better cuſtomer and a better encourager of the arts, than a few, however wealthy; and that the exhibiti-

ons and lyceum of an opulent nation are more likely to afford liberal recompenſe to the artiſt than the decoration of a few family manſions.

Beſides theſe deſtructive Effects of theſe Laws, they are ſubverſive of the Civil and Political Rights and Liberties of Mankind.

I will not deſcend to prove that the Rights of Man are unalienable and impreſcriptible, nor to expoſe the rant and declamation which would ſet up the abſurd inſtitutions of an infant, ignorant, barbarous age, for eternal laws to bind mankind, in the moſt matured, the moſt aged and enlightened times of the world. But, holding in contempt and deteſtation every inſtitution, however rooted by time, or ſupported by force or corruption, which is incompatible with the liberty, happineſs and intereſts of Man, I will aſſume it as an indiſputable fact, that Mankind are entitled to, and muſt poſſeſs, every right their ſtate of knowledge, and advancement in civil ſociety, enables them to claim or maintain; and that their own ignorance and incapacity are the only barriers which can ſtand between them and their fulleſt enjoyment. I feel happy in having brought this great queſtion to this point, in which every civil and political right of Man is concentrated: For it is in ſcrutinizing the merits of thoſe prediſpoſing laws which regulate the paſſage and transfer of property, that a few ſimple principles, which explain the means by which the Rights of Man can be ſecured, muſt put to rout thoſe volumes, with which the advocates for civil, political and religious deſpotiſm, bigotry and prejudice, have ſo long diſtracted the mind of the European world. The hiſtory of every age, and of every nation, bears unerring and invariable teſtimony, that it is a principle in the nature of Man to abuſe the power with which he has been inveſted, and that the only effectual controul is that which reſts in the hands of the people, by whom, and for whoſe uſe, the power was delegated, and who are the moſt intereſted that it ſhould be exerciſed according to the extent for which it was given.

If, then, it cannot be controverted, that property gives the means of influencing the conduct and commanding the ſervices of others, who will aſſert that thoſe laws, which monopolize property, do not furniſh the few, in whoſe favour they act, with the means of monopolizing power alſo? Who will aſſert, that thoſe laws which prevent property from ſpreading, and creating a number of ſmall proprietors, do not prevent the exiſtence of the only controul by which thoſe who become inveſted with power can be checked or reſtrained? If the true queſtion be, not about the Rights of Man, but about the beſt means by which he ſhall attain them and keep them, who can argue in favour of laws which create monopoly of power and uſurpation of rights, and deſtroy the only efficient controul by which the rights of the people can either be gained or preſerved? This is a ground I will never ſurrender. It is that on which, not only repreſentation, but every other civil or political right Man can claim or enjoy, muſt depend. As long as you ſuffer theſe laws of monopoly to exiſt, how can you have an adequate, efficient, controuling, conſtituent body? The true prediſpoſing ſtate for perfect repreſentation, is to create the greateſt poſſible number of independent electors, and to deſtroy the monopolized power by which they may be influenced, bribed or debauched. As long as thoſe laws exiſt which monopolize the whole of a country in the hands of half a dozen proprietors, it will be in vain to attempt to reform repreſentation; thoſe laws have vitiated it at its ſource, and impurity muſt accompany it throughout. The power which the great proprietor exerciſes over his tenant as an elector, is fatal: As landlord, the hopes of renewal and of indulgence, and the dread of reſentment—and as a monopoliſt of political power, the patronage of places, emoluments and jobs—are all more immediate conſiderations with the elector, than the indirect and more diſtant benefits accruing from the exerciſe of the conſtituent's rights. So wholly deſtructive are thoſe laws of monopoly of any thing like adequate, efficient repreſentation, that, as long as they exiſt, no human device can be invented for eſtabliſhing reſtraints by which thoſe inveſted with power can be controuled. During the continuance of thoſe laws, extending the rights of election to the

the poorer citizens, would, under the appearance of adding to the ſtrength of the conſtituent body, be to dilute its force, by pouring in on it a vaſt quantity of abſolute weakneſs. To violate the right of univerſal ſuffrage, is to infringe the moſt ſacred right of Man. But as long as thoſe laws of monopoly exiſt, the general exerciſe of the right, under the appearance of Democracy, renders Ariſtocracy omnipotent. The people, who act from their feelings, have felt the full force of theſe truths. Hence the indifference they have ever ſhewn for all plans of reform which have been propoſed, from conviction, that, under the influence of thoſe laws of monopoly, no extenſion of the right of election could confer on them any real advantage.

How much it is the Intereſt of the Rich to aboliſh thoſe Laws of Monopoly.

If, in this ſummary of the deſtructive effects of thoſe laws of monopoly, I have demonſtrated that they are ſubverſive of the induſtry and wealth of nations, of the laws of juſtice, of nature, and of ſocial happineſs, and of the civil and political Rights of Man—in a word, if I have demonſtrated that thoſe laws are repugnant to the ſelf-intereſts of Mankind, what being, endued with reaſoning faculties, but muſt perceive the rottenneſs of the ground which every inſtitution and privilege which are ſupported by thoſe laws muſt ſtand on? Who that muſt not be convinced of the infatuated folly of thoſe men, who, on the brink of bankruptcy, after laviſhing ſuch oceans of blood, and ſuch millions of wealth, in a vain attempt to ſupport thoſe laws, would not conſent to their abolition, when they could have ſecured, to themſelves and their families, ſuch enviable conditions, with the thanks and eſteem of their fellow-citizens? Who does not perceive the want of intellect in thoſe men who poſſeſs property, to which the people lay no claim, in allying their cauſe, and in placing their ſafety on the ſame footing with thoſe men who live by corruption, for betraying the rights and liberties of their county, and whoſe wages are paid with public money wrung from the hard hand of the peaſant, in reward for their treaſonable, parricidal ſervice? Who does not ſee, that,

that, from the perilous ſtate to which the continuance of thoſe laws had reduced property, imperious neceſſity called upon thoſe who poſſeſſed it, to free it from all its reſtraints in deſcent, transfer, and ſale; *whereby the numbers intereſted in its preſervation would have been augmented, whilſt the numbers intereſted in its ſubverſion would have been diminiſhed?* But, alas! ſo powerfully does the thirſt for domineering even over the wretched, vitiate the mind which has once taſted its intoxicating ſpirit, to ſuch a degree does it paralize the reaſon, that, even in the jaws of death, the hand which has once graſped power, will hold it with a pertinacity not to be looſened. But if men will not cloſe their eyes, and abandon their reaſon, can they avoid perceiving, that monopoly and uſurpation have been undermined, by the revolution which has happened in the ſtate of property and knowledge, ariſing from the arts, from education and commerce, which have made ſuch rapid progreſs ſince the invention of the mariner's compaſs and the preſs? Can they be ſurprized, that, as theſe inventions were unknown and inoperative in the preceding ages of the world, nothing analogous to their effects ſhould have appeared in the annals of mankind? If they doubt that theſe powerful and novel cauſes have produced this ſtupendous revolution, let them compare the preſent ſtate of ſociety, in which the great cauſes are exhibiting ſuch important effects, with the barbarous ages from which theſe deſtructive laws of diſinheritance, monopoly and ſlavery, originally ſprung.

A Compariſon between the State of Society when thoſe Laws of Monopoly originated, and the preſent.

See the ruſtic Baron, formerly inhabiting his Gothic Caſtle in the midſt of his vaſſals, whoſe fidelity and ſervice he purchaſes by beſtowing the whole produce of his demeſnes on their maintenance, and whoſe obedience he enforces by a conſtant reſidence among them—ſee this ſuperintendant of ſlaves, this grazier of vaſſals, transformed at preſent into a fine gentleman, reſiding in the capital, where he expends the whole of his income in ſelfiſh gratification and vanities, amongſt men from whom it procures him

him neither allegiance nor obedience. The vaſſals whoſe attachment was eſtabliſhed by blending their intereſts with their lords, are now transformed into tenants, with intereſts in direct oppoſition to that of their landlords, of whom they know little more than what they feel from the extortion of their agents or bailiffs—the one exacting the abſolute diſpoſal of the rights of the elector; the other deſirous to enjoy it himſelf—the one endeavouring to gain the higheſt rents on the ſhorteſt tenure; the other as much intereſted in gaining the very reverſe. But it is not in the total alteration which has taken place in this claſs only, that we are to look for the want of ſupport which theſe laws at preſent experience. Thoſe numerous, independent and enlightened claſſes, which have been introduced into ſociety by the introduction of commerce, the arts, and the preſs, have been an entire addition;—claſſes who earn their livelihood, free, not only from all feudal dependencies, but even from the influence which the expectation of renewals, or the hopes of indulgence, create—artizans, neither knowing nor caring by whom the goods they have wrought for the factor may be bought or conſumed; whereby, as the arts, manufactures and commerce advance, the numbers whoſe independence enables them, whoſe knowledge inſtructs them, whoſe ſelf-intereſt impels them, to reſiſt thoſe laws of monopoly of property and power, muſt be augmented. See how commerce and the preſs have gained on deſpotiſm throughout the world, in an exact proportion as theſe great and operative cauſes have made their way in the ſeveral nations of the earth. See how exactly learning, induſtry, and commerce, have kept pace with liberty, in every quarter of the globe. See how theſe great benefactors of the human race, the compaſs and the preſs, have fitted mankind to comprehend and to promote their ſelf-intereſt, in every country where they are known. Compare the ages which precede their invention, with the age in exiſtence: Compare the ſcanty population, compoſed of tyrants and vaſſals, plunged in the depths of ignorance, ſuperſtition and darkneſs; without one of the conveniences, and with but few of the neceſſaries of life; without the preſs to print, and the poſt to circulate knowledge; without books, without induſtry, without emulation,

tion, incitement or colliſion; exhibiting a corruption of the ſavage ſtate, without one of the advantages of civilization: Look back to this ſtate of barbariſm, ignorance, rapine, ſuperſtition and deſpotiſm, to whoſe legiſlative wiſdom ſuch ſolemn appeals are hourly made: Look back on thoſe anceſtors, to whoſe conſummate ignorance of the principles of civil and political liberty you are indebted for thoſe laws of monopoly—thoſe laws which, by wreſting the power of controul from the hands of the people, and veſting their rights and property in the hands of a few ſelf-conſtituted legiſlators, have left lawleſs power at large, to involve the nations of Europe in carnage, in famine, in blood, and in bankruptcy: Can it be matter for aſtoniſhment that ſuch laws, from ſuch an origin, ſhould have cauſed ſuch a complication of diſorders in a civilized ſtate? If you have a doubt remaining, trace the gradual progreſs of the European mind from darkneſs to light, from thraldom to freedom: See it placing its ſelf-intereſt in the ſtricteſt obſervance of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance to a junto of prieſts and deſpots, from a faith and belief that the more entire the ſacrifice of every right and every bleſſing in this world, the more certain the attainment of eternal happineſs in the world to come: See it, from this loweſt ſtate of degradation, arrive at a ſort of colliſion of ſentiment from ſchiſms, placing its ſelf-intereſt in the ſucceſs of one ſect over another, between whom the moſt frivolous diſtinction created a difference: See this colliſion of ſentiment advance to concerns of this world, in the contentions of factions and parties, where ſelf-intereſt was placed in the triumph of one ſet of leaders over their rivals: See the public mind, hoping, from time to time, to promote its ſelf-intereſt by a change of kings and miniſters, and uniformly deceived by ſome wretched palliative, the peace-offering of men inveſted with power for profeſſions made to attain it; until, enlightened by education, convinced by frequent and uniform experience, that a change of men could never cure diſeaſes which require a change of ſyſtem, diſengaged from all thoſe falſe mediums which ſtood between it and its ſelf-intereſt, and looking directly at the nature of government, the public mind has at length arrived at the great truth, that as it is the nature of Man

to

to abuſe authority, the maintenance of Man's right ſhould never depend on the will or even the virtue of thoſe inveſted with power, but on the ſtate of the independence and knowledge of the people, by whom, and for tranſacting whoſe affairs, they are choſen; that without independence, the people cannot exerciſe a free and unbiaſſed election, and that without knowledge they cannot judge how far the conduct of their delegates has entitled them to be re-elected or rejected. On theſe few truths muſt the rights of Mankind for ever depend. Take them, my countrymen! into your boſoms; let them ſink deep in your hearts; teach them to your children; and truſt me, that, when they are thoroughly rooted, no bayonet can force them, no corruption deſtroy them, no chains can bind them, no dungeon incloſe them. Fortified with theſe truths, do not eſtimate the future progreſs of Liberty by the courſe ſhe has run in the centuries paſt: But be aſſured, that the period has at length arrived, that after performing her ſlow and tedious paſſage through the regions of darkneſs, ſhe quickens her pace as ſhe approaches heat and light, and blazes on an enlightened and an aſtoniſhed world.

That Liberty has gained ground in the preſent Conteſt, and that ſhe muſt be triumphant.

When I conſider the extraordinary efforts which have been made theſe laſt five years, to reſiſt the abolition of theſe laws of monopoly of property and power in France, and to ſupport the uſurpation and corruption which depend on their continuance in every other country in Europe—when I ſee every reſtraint which ſtood between government and deſpotiſm removed—when I ſee the nations of Europe drained of their blood and of their wealth—when I ſee force, corruption and terror, exerted at every point, and in every direction, and that every influence has been employed to circulate miſrepreſentation, and to prevent the circulation of truth—I am not ſurpriſed to find that the appearances which have reſulted from ſuch extraordinary efforts ſhould have betrayed thoſe who love liberty into a fear that its progreſs had been arreſted, or, that it ſhould have elated the advocates for corruption to hope that

that uſurpation and proſtitution, by which they live in ſuch affluence, were more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever. But, true to thoſe principles which I have already advanced, I hope to demonſtrate that thoſe appearances are but the effects of deluſion, which can be but momentary, whilſt thoſe of principle muſt be eternal; and that what has appeared to be the deſtruction of liberty, is in fact the laſt effort of expiring corruption and deſpotiſm.

Tyranny, vaſſalage, and prieſtcraft, are the ingredients which originally compoſed the governments of the nations of Europe; and the diſinheriting, monopolizing laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements, were the fundamental code by which deſpotiſm and ſlavery were eſtabliſhed throughout. Whence, then, this ſtupendous revolution, whoſe novelty and magnitude have aſtoniſhed the world? France, a prey to an intriguing, abandoned Court, a prey to an inſolent, profligate and frivolous Ariſtocracy, a prey to a monſtrous overgrown Clergy, the extremes of beggary and wealth—writhed under a complication of deſpotiſm: Whilſt France, from having become more commercial, and, from a more extenſive uſe of the preſs, having acquired more independence and knowledge than the other abſolute deſpotiſms of Europe, was prepared to make a revolution; and the extravagance and profligacy of its deſpotiſm, unreſtrained by the controul of even the ſemblance of repreſentation, brought on that bankruptcy which was the ſignal for its commencement; yes! France, goaded by the extravagance and inſolence of this complication of tyranny on one ſide, and freed and enlightened by commerce and the preſs on the other, aboliſhed thoſe laws of monopoly of property and power, by which the pillars that ſupported uſurpation and deſpotiſm have been deſtroyed, and a controuling repreſentative Democracy has been raiſed on their ſite. This is the Revolution which thoſe of depraved and vitiated ſouls, callous to the ſlavery of twenty-five millions of ſuffering people, but alive to the downfall of a vicious court and profligate courtiers, have reviled and vilified. This is the Revolution which thoſe who prefer *lettres de cachet* to trial by Jury, and the gripe of rapacious deſpotiſm to the grants of delegated authority, have loaded with their invectives. This is the Revolution,

lution, which thoſe who admire the *corve*, the *taille*, the *gabelle*, the farm of tobacco, and the myriad of tyrannies it has aboliſhed, have loaded with abuſe. This is the Revolution at which thoſe have railed, who regret the ſyſtem of farmers-general, and the ſanguinary code by which thoſe leeches ſucked the blood and wealth of induſtrious millions, to ſupply the waſte and extravagance of rapacious deſpots. This is the Revolution againſt which infuriated Bigotry has vomited its rankeſt and fouleſt ſcurrilities, for having diſbanded half a million of drones, who, living in idleneſs, exerted themſelves to increaſe the days of idleneſs of others; wallowing part in filth and part in luxuries, and all an abomination to that creation, whoſe Creator they affected to glorify by conſuming its growth, without adding a grain to its produce.

This is the Revolution which the maſs of the People of Europe behold with delight from a ſympathy of feeling, that the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly could alone deſtroy that corruption, extravagance and uſurpation, by which their ſeveral governments have reduced them to that ſtate of diſtreſs from which the utmoſt exertions of induſtry cannot relieve them, and from conviction that the abolition of theſe laws only could create that democratic independence and conſequence, by which their rights, their induſtry and their liberty could be ſecured. This is the Revolution which I intreat you will conſider as nothing more, or nothing leſs, than the abolition of thoſe laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements. For that this, and this only, was the Revolution of France, I will not only prove, but alſo, that the civil diſcord, the maſſacres, the famines, the carnage and bankruptcies, with which this Revolution has been attended, have been committed by that combination of corruption and deſpotiſm, which have been exerted, not only to deſtroy the Revolution, but to exterminate the People who made it.

The Revolution of France was nothing more than the Abolition of thoſe Laws of Monopoly; and all the Calamity and Bloodſhed with which it has been attended, were cauſed by thoſe who conſpired againſt it.

For more than three years, from May 1789 to Auguſt 1792, never did the world produce a Revolution which, for its magnitude, was of ſuch unparalleled mildneſs: Never before was the ſubject of how Man may be beſt protected and governed, ſo freely, ſo ably diſcuſſed; and never was there ſo powerful a conſpiracy formed, as that which was plotting, during this period, to contrive its deſtruction. It is time to unmaſk the real authors of thoſe unparalleled crimes, which have brought ſuch unexampled calamities upon the nations of Europe. Can it be denied, that the Miniſter of England, and his accomplices, have reſorted to means long ſince exploded by civilized nations? Can it be denied, that he has expended millions of the wealth of Great-Britain, for the infernal purpoſe of ſpreading maſſacre, and famine, and anarchy, and civil commotion, in France? Was it not from the notoriety that theſe were his acts, that the People of France were forced to ſubmit to thoſe extraordinary means for ſuppreſſing intrigues and treaſons? Was it not he who nurtured and foſtered theſe treaſons, intrigues, and civil commotions, which enabled Robeſpierre to eſtabliſh his tyrannical power? If it cannot be denied that the Miniſter of England fomented and paid for thoſe treaſons, intrigues, and civil commotions; if it cannot be denied, that without his aid and aſſiſtance, thoſe treaſons, intrigues, and civil commotions, could not have been practiſed; and if it cannot be denied, that, without theſe intrigues, treaſons, and civil commotions, the People of France would not have been obliged to ſubmit to a murderous tyrant, nor could the tyrant have had means to eſtabliſh his power—who but the Miniſter of England, and his accomplices, are the real authors of the maſſacres, the carnage and anarchy which have reſulted? Why then, ſhould he diſown the miſcreants of his begetting? Have they not proved themſelves his faithful allies, by being the moſt dreadful ſcourge with which a people ever were flead, to the People of France? and have they not proved the moſt extraordinary ſupport of

of his power with which a Miniſter was ever furniſhed? It is not to that ſort of warfare practiſed by civilized nations, that he owed any advantages he gained, or any diſadvantages his enemy ſuffered. No! the defeats of Dunkirk and Tournay, and the diſgraces, in, and flight out of Holland, ſhew how little his genius is fitted to ſucceed in a liberal, generous warfare. His genius lies in fraud, deceit and cunning—dark, infernal and crooked. Theſe are the qualities which have enabled him to create a horde of aſſaſſins in France, who drained that nation of more blood, and more millions, in two years, than could have been expended in ten campaigns of ordinary generous warfare. Theſe are the qualities which enabled him to create that gang of aſſaſſins by whoſe hands he butchered ſome of the greateſt genius that ever appeared. By theſe curſed aſſaſſins has he ſpread maſſacre, and carnage, and famine, and plunder, and anarchy and civil war, over the faireſt portion of the creation. Why, then, diſown theſe miſcreants of his begetting? Was it not by means of theſe very aſſaſſins, that he not only deluged and deſolated France, but that he deceived, deluded and terrified the People of England? Has he not made the terror of their crimes the means by which he terrified the nation to inveſt him with abſolute power? Has not this terror been the means by which he has ſubjected the wealth of the Britiſh Empire, even to bankruptcy, at his diſpoſal? Well may the ſuffering People of France call him the enemy of the human race; and well may the People of the Britiſh Empire, whoſe blood he has ſhed, whoſe wealth he has waſted, whoſe induſtry he has beggared, whoſe liberty he has deſtroyed, deſignate him by a like appellation. After he had laid Liberty proſtrate from one extremity of France to the other, and after he had left her, as he imagined, expiring in agony under the myriads of wounds the aſſaſſins raiſed by his power had dealt her, he repreſented the tragedy in the Britiſh Empire, which under his own auſpices, had been really acted in France. Transforming the characters, and practiſing ſuch other deceptions as beſt ſuited his diabolical purpoſe, he announced it by proclamation. He repreſented Robeſpierre at the head of his gang of aſſaſſins, armed with reeking daggers, and beſmeared with the blood of that Liberty they had butchered, whoſe fair form he made

them

them aſſume. Under this foul and monſtrous fraud, whilſt horror had appalled every faculty of his ſpectators, he aſked them, if that was the Liberty they wiſhed to embrace? Every one that was weak, timid, ignorant, or credulous, was deceived. They inſtantly ſhrunk from Liberty, whoſe breath ſtunk in their noſtrils like the fumes of the blood of the murdered; and they clung to Corruption, whoſe ſtench ſeemed the odour of regeneration and health. War, expence, deſpotic power, the deſtruction of induſtry, and national bankruptcy, were to be the means of ſalvation; whilſt thoſe who dared to ſpeak of peace, retrenchment, œconomy, or reformation, were ſuppoſed to be in the fore-ground of guillotines with daggers in their hands, and to have had the hearts of aſſaſſins. The triumph of the Miniſter was complete over the inert, beſotted maſs of the people. He brought Liberty to be deteſted, and arbitrary power and corruption, under the appellation of confidence and ſtrong government, to be adored.

Granting that the triumph of the Britiſh Miniſter over the intereſts and Liberties of the People of Great Britain and Ireland, and over the ſenſes of the privileged, the rich, the ignorant and the timid, has been complete—is there any thing in it which has the appearance of ſtability or permanence? Has it not been attained by corruption, by force, and deluſion? Are not the means of force and corruption nearly exhauſted? And how ſtands deluſion? By deceiving the deluded into a belief, that the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly of property and power, was the cauſe of the anarchy, maſſacre and famine with which France was affected, and that their abolition in Great Britain and Ireland would be attended with ſimilar conſequences—the Miniſter derived that powerful ſupport, by which he has endeavoured to re-eſtabliſh thoſe laws of monopoly in France, and by which he has reſiſted their abolition in England. But are not facts coming to light every hour, which develope the deceit he has practiſed? From the deſtruction of thoſe aſſaſſins his power had raiſed, have not the wounds which Liberty received in France been viſibly healing? Has not that Liberty which was ſaid to have expired in France already re-appeared? and has ſhe not proclaimed to Europe the ſuborners and authors of her aſſaſſination?

aſſaſſination? Is not the memory of thoſe aſſaſſins univerſally odious in France, and are not the aſſiſtants and inſtruments of their ſlaughter and tyranny held in abhorrence? Since the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly, have not the Liberties of France gained ſtrength and ſecurity every hour, notwithſtanding the infernal means which have been uſed to deſtroy them? Is it not a fact, that ſince the extirpation of the aſſaſſins, and that the treaſons and maſſacres fomented and paid for by the Britiſh Miniſter have been got under, the Government of France has been one of the mildeſt that ever appeared? But if theſe facts will not convince the moſt beſotted deluſion, that the calamities, not only of France, but of Great Britain and Ireland, have been cauſed by this conſpiracy, which, for theſe laſt five years has laviſhed ſuch oceans of blood, and ſuch millions of wealth, to prevent the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly—let them look to our preſent condition for confirmation? Is there an hour that we do not receive ſome freſh wound in our liberty, or in our credit? Are not our burdens multiplying, as our weakneſs and inability to bear them increaſes? Have not all the ſymptoms of approaching diſſolution made their appearance? Has not the perilous aſpect of our ruinous ſtate baniſhed our ſpecie, and has not paper been uſed to replace it? Have not taxation and borrowing been exhauſted, and are we not drained by a forced requiſition, as unjuſt as capricious? In the name of Truth and of Juſtice, upon what pretence has this man and his accomplices ſet themſelves up as the champions of liberty, of property, of religion and order, in this cruſade againſt the abolition of thoſe laws for the monopoly of property and power? What! is Virtue ſo impotent, that her cauſe ſhould have loſt ground every hour, though aided by the influence and power which ariſe from the collection and expenditure of twenty-two millions of annual revenue, with the additional influence and power which the borrowing and expenditure of two hundred millions in five years has furniſhed, with powerful fleets and numerous armies, with abſolute power over the perſons and properties of thoſe who oppoſe him? Or, is vice ſo prevalent over virtue, that our cauſe ſhould gain ground during five years that ſuch unparalleled tyranny has defeated us, diſarmed, without money, without any means

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of influencing whatever, but what we derive from an appeal to the underſtanding and reaſon? And even in this our only recourſe we labour under a thouſand oppreſſions. The advocates for our opponents are loaded with riches, and what are falſely called honours; their wretched productions are circulated, and their doctrines inculcated, by corruption and terror; whilſt the advocates on our ſide are perſecuted, and their writings ſuppreſſed. Is it the nature of virtue to ſhrink from the light, or to fly from diſcuſſion? Is it the nature of vice to court inquiry, and to appeal to inveſtigation and truth? On this alone would I reſt the cauſe I contend for. On this alone would I contend that our's is the cauſe of virtue, and that our opponents' is the cauſe of vice. It were blaſphemy againſt the Omnipotent: it were to inveſt vice with the all-powerful arm of virtue, and to inveſt virtue with the impotence of vice: it were to accuſe the Almighty of having eſtabliſhed a government of hell upon earth: it were to ſuppoſe Satan omnipotent, and the Godhead gone. Yet it is on this blaſphemous hypotheſis that the abolition of thoſe laws for the monopoly of property and power has been reſiſted. It is on this hypotheſis, that the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly, and the continuance of the conſtitution, have been held incompatible one with the other. As theſe are the dogmas on which this fatal deluſion has been eſtabliſhed, by which we have been involved in this war of extermination with France, and in this ſmothered war which is ready to burſt out in Great Britain and Ireland, they ſhould be probed to the bottom.

Whether the Exiſtence of our Conſtitution and Liberties are incompatible with the Abolition of thoſe Laws of Monopoly.

BEFORE we had riſked ſo deſperate a ſtake as our all, in a war againſt Reformation, we ſhould have diligently examined, and have been thoroughly convinced, that thoſe deadly diſeaſes with which the Conſtitution was ſaid to be ſeized were not founded in truth. We ſhould have endeavoured to reconcile the perfection of the conſtitution in its actual ſtate, which has been trumpeted through the nation, with the well-known averſion of mankind to alteration in

government, as long as it is to be borne, and the violent inclination for change, which thoſe extraordinary means have been uſed to ſuppreſs. At leaſt, it muſt have been the height of infatuation and madneſs not to have aſcertained that the conſtitution had not become ſo rotten, that whilſt we were ſupporting it at the expence of millions of lives, and millions of money, it would not have fallen upon us, and buried the remnant under its ruins. But as the corruption and cowardice which have hitherto incapacitated and deterred us from looking the real condition of our political ſtate in the face, will ſhortly be overcome by that imperious neceſſity, which daſtardly and degenerate conduct will have occaſioned in England, and tyranny and outrage in Ireland, no time ſhould be loſt in giving the ſubject the freeſt and moſt impartial diſcuſſion.

If the conſtitution, which it is ſaid would be deſtroyed by the abolition of the laws for the monopoly of property and power, be the proprietorſhip of the National Repreſentation principally in the Lords, by which it has become a mercantile commodity—if it conſiſts in the Miniſters of the Crown being inveſted with the moſt ample means of being its purchaſer, whereby the grants of the public money are wholly in their power, as to quantity, appropriation and expenditure—if this be a correct deſcription of the conſtitution, for the continuance of which we have been made to play ſo deſperate a game, and the excellence of which we are diſcuſſing, I agree with the preſent Miniſters, that there is no means ſo effectual as the abolition of thoſe laws of monopoly, to effect its utter deſtruction. Yes! I am ready to grant that this is the definition of the conſtitution, for which we have bled, theſe laſt five years, at every pore. But is this the conſtitution for which ſo much blood was formerly ſhed in reſiſting the Stuarts? Is this the conſtitution of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight? This is indeed the definition of the conſtitution which the Miniſter talks of ſupporting; in which he is backed and counterſigned by the proprietory of our National Repreſentation, and the numerous tribes who live by the trade in a ſyſtem of unmixed corruption. But I will appeal from ſuch unſafe commentators to the hiſtory of the Conſtitution itſelf; where, inſtead of this conſecrated

ted ſixture of abuſes which have been accumulating ſince the Revolution, it will be found, in its true definition, to be compoſed of a collection of rights, taken, in the courſe of centuries, from the repoſitory of Ariſtocratical and Monarchical Uſurpation and Deſpotiſm, where they had been ſtored in times of ignorance and barbariſm, and from whence they have been drawn from time to time, as the growing knowledge and the growing neceſſities of the people have made them ſenſible they were wanting for their further proſperity and happineſs—not donations flowing from Ariſtocracy and Monarchy, but obtained by the power enjoyed and exerciſed by the National Repreſentatives, of granting the People's money, and of exacting a rigid account of its expenditure. And, ſo far from the preſent proprietorſhip of the Lords or of individuals, or the preſent venal dependency on the Crown—ſo far from that confidence now ſo extenſively called for, and ſo extenſively given, making any part of the Conſtitution, it will be found that a total diſconnection between the Crown and the Commons, and between the Lords and the Commons, together with a never-ceaſing diſtruſt and jealouſy of both Crown and Lords on the part of the Commons, was the *vital principle* by which the Conſtitution was *originally generated, afterwards nurtured, and finally eſtabliſhed at the Revolution.* Yes! after centuries of ſtruggle between the National Repreſentation and the Crown, in which many Kings were depoſed and one was beheaded, the Conſtitution was at length eſtabliſhed on the ſole inveſtiture of the public purſe in the hands of the Democracy's Delegates; and ſo thoroughly was this vital principle eſtabliſhed upon the reſtoration of Monarchy in the perſon of Charles II. that James was depoſed for attempting to infringe it, and his ſucceſſor choſen on the expreſs condition, that the then eſtabliſhed rights of the National Repreſentation ſhould be the limitation by which the Crown ſhould be worn. If, then, it cannot be denied, that the Conſtitution conſiſts in the Repreſentatives of the People *actually* exerciſing theſe reſtraints and limitations, with an *actual* diſconnection, diſtruſt and jealouſy exiſting between them, the Crown, its Miniſters, and the Lords—if it cannot be denied, that it was by the exerciſe of theſe powers that

whatever liberty the Conſtitution has ever contained, was gained and can be ſecured—I aſk, where is the difference between the acts of the Stuarts, who attempted to lay aſide the Repreſentative Democracy altogether by arbitrary power, and the act of the Miniſter of the Crown, who *corrupts the National Repreſentation, buys it up, avails himſelf of its ſanction for laws ſubverſive of the Liberties of the People, and ſhelters his acts under its name?* I aſk, is the deſtruction of the Conſtitution leſs real in the one caſe than in the other? Is Corruption leſs deadly than abſolute force? Force acts openly, and provokes to reſiſtance by the pain it inflicts. But Corruption is mixed with our food; it is ſwallowed with our nutrition; and it is not ſenſibly felt until it has ſeized on the vitals. Force obliges us for a time to ſubmit; but Corruption renders us unfit for reſiſtance.

Such is the violence of the paſſions of Man, once inveſted with government, for unlimited authority—ſuch his deſire to free himſelf from neceſſary controul, that from the day the executive power was lodged in the hands of James's ſucceſſor, on the expreſs condition that it ſhould be, for ever after, limited by the then acknowledged rights of the Repreſentative Democracy—from that day the Miniſters of the Crown commenced a ſyſtematic plan for corrupting that body, whoſe power the fate of the Stuarts convinced them it was no longer ſafe openly or directly to infringe. They preſerved the form and the names of the Conſtitution; but they deſtroyed its vital principle. They poiſoned the truſtee of the liberties of the Nation, and ſigned a ſurrender of his functions to themſelves, with the lifeleſs hand of the putrid body they had murdered. The preſent Miniſter, once the foremoſt and the loudeſt in inveighing againſt this aſſaſſination of the Conſtitution, after ſhedding more blood, laviſhing more wealth, and extending corruption farther, than any of his predeceſſors, in ſupport of his power—finding that even theſe horrid and ruinous means were inſufficient to ſupport his tottering ſyſtem, he has had recourſe to the ſame lifeleſs hand to ſanction that arbitrary power which had been put down at the Revolution, and which Corruption was called in to replace; by which means, at this inſtant, the Conſtitution is not only

aſſailed

aſſailed by Corruption, but by arbitrary power and military force.

Thus, although I have proved that theſe pretended champions of the conſtitution are its real deſtroyers, although it is manifeſt to the meaneſt capacity that the abolition of theſe laws of monopoly is the only efficacious means of reſtoring and ſecuring the independence of the national repreſentation, and that vital principle of its diſconnection, diſtruſt and jealouſy of the executive power—it has been ſaid it would deſtroy the Lords, and with them the Monarchy alſo. This is a ſerious aſſertion, and demands your moſt attentive examination, becauſe it carries the appearance of truth.

That it is not the Abolition of thoſe Laws of Monopoly which has deſtroyed Hereditary Power.

To explain this fully, I muſt refer to thoſe principles upon which I have hitherto reaſoned, " that ſelf-intereſt is the governing principle in every inſtitution that is human, and that property is the engine by which ſelf-intereſt is worked." To judge of the queſtion, as it concerns the Lords; by this principle, we muſt compare their preſent ſituation with the ſituation they formerly held; and it will be found, that if they cannot hold their place in the conſtitution as a ſeparate branch in the Legiſlature, it will be owing to that great Revolution in property and in mind which has actually happened. Regarding the Lords in their ancient ſtate, as the ſole proprietors of the lands of the nation, thoſe who imagine that the powers veſted in them as a branch of the Legiſlature were privileges in addition to thoſe which their ſituation as the ſole landed proprietors gave them, muſt be groſsly deficient in political ſcience. In their all-powerful ſtate as ſole proprietors of the lands of the nation, at a time when lands were almoſt the only ſpecies of property, to define, was to limit their power. But to take the power over the national purſe out of their hands, and to place it in thoſe of the national repreſentation, was a reſtriction which at once diſabled this powerful Ariſtocracy from deſtroying the liberties of the people. It was this reſtriction which created the Conſtitution

tion and Liberties of England and Ireland; and it is by the actual exiſtence of this reſtriction only that they can be preſerved.

In a ſtate where lands are almoſt the only ſpecies of property, where they are in the poſſeſſion of but a few, and where the monopoly is ſupported by laws ſo deſtructive of human proſperity and happineſs as the laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlement, the forming of theſe great land proprietors into a diſtinct branch of the Legiſlature, and inveſting them with thoſe powers *only* with which by the conſtitution the Lords are inveſted, was one of the happieſt devices of human invention, which, under *ſuch circumſtances*, none but an enemy to liberty would attempt to deſtroy. But when, from the introduction of luxuries and vanities, thoſe great proprietors have been tempted to part with their lands—when, by the * various evaſions of theſe laws of monopoly, they have been enabled to do ſo—when, inſtead of being the ſole proprietors, they do not poſſeſs the hundredth part of the lands of the nation—and when, from the vaſt influx of capital, and what is called perſonal property, triple the value of the fee-ſimple of all the lands taken together, thoſe once ſole proprietors do not poſſeſs the thouſandth part of the whole national property—can the mind of Man conceive a greater abſurdity, than that ſuch a monſtrous revolution in the national property muſt not be followed by a vaſt and important change in the ſtate of the Lords as a branch of the Legiſlature? Is it in the nature of things that the Lords as ſole proprietors *in their former condition*, and the Lords not poſſeſſed of the thouſandth part of the national property *in their preſent condition*, can have the ſame power in the one caſe as in the other? As long as the Lords were the great and powerful barons, they could maintain their ſituation with eaſe, by reſting upon their own ſtrength as proprietors. As long as the Crown was poſſeſſed of its extenſive demeſnes, and dared to exerciſe deſpotic power, ſo averſe is Man to condeſcend to uſe any other means as long as he dares to uſe force, that both the Crown and the Lords abſtained from corrupting

* The Laws paſſed in the Reign of Henry VII. and the evaſions of Fines and Recoveries.

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the delegates of the Democracy. But, now that, from the aſtoniſhing progreſs which the nations of Europe have made, Democracy has become ſo almighty, the Crown and the Lords have ſeized on the national repreſentation, the one as proprietor, the other as a ſeven years renter; whilſt the Miniſter, as agent for both, receives the public money from the proprietory for the Crown in one hand, and pays it back to the proprietory with the other. Thus the Miniſter of the Crown, and the Lords, who make a property of tbe national repreſentation, after actually deſtroying the conſtitution, are the loudeſt to trumpet its excellence, and to deluge the world with blood to ſupport its ſubverſion; and, as it fares with the feet of the women of China, they have ſo ſqueezed the repreſentative baſis in the vice of monopoly, that as the other parts have grown, the conſtitution is unable to ſtand: And after exhauſting the ſources of blood and of wealth, they may now learn, that, inſtead of hemming them in within the territories of France, with the bayonets of mercenaries, extirpating them by famine, or making them a prey to civil diſcord and maſſacre, they will find them planted at home; they will find that the increaſe of commerce, the progreſs of knowledge, the influx of wealth, and this great revolution in property—in a word, they will find that the gigantic growth of Democracy has totally ſubverted thoſe ancient relations between the parts of the conſtitution by which it was formerly balanced, that this Coloſſian Democracy, before which hereditary Ariſtocracy has dwindled, *muſt have a real repreſentation*, and that the means which they have purſued, and are ſtill purſuing, to defeat it in France, *are the moſt efficacious and rapid to promote its progreſs at home.*

If this reaſoning ſtand in need of further proof to convince you, that by this great revolution which has actually happened in the national property and in the national mind, the Lords have been diſabled from holding that place, as a branch of the Legiſlature, which the conſtitution aſſigns them, and that they exiſt ſolely by their proprietorſhip of the Democracy's repreſentation, I might appeal to the writings of the moſt able, entire and furious

furious opponent * of thoſe principles I have ſupported, who gives a decided opinion that the Lords could not exiſt one year, without their proprietorſhip in the Commons, and their ſale to the Crown; or, in other words, that they would not exiſt a ſingle year, without their uſurped right of deſtroying the vital and fundamental part of the conſtitution. And this authority is farther confirmed by the preſent Miniſter's being forced, in order to ſupport his tottering ſyſtem, to make more Lords *in the ſame proprietory line*, within theſe laſt twelve years, than had been created for the century which preceded his acceſſion.

Since, then, this great revolution in the national property has cauſed ſuch a vaſt revolution in the ſtate of the Lords, that thoſe laws for the monopoly of property and power are inſufficient to ſupport them in that ſituation which the conſtitution allots them, the only queſtion which remains for diſcuſſion (if it is not treaſon againſt the conſtitution to diſcuſs ſuch a queſtion) is, whether thoſe laws of monopoly ſhall be continued, to ſupport the utter ſubverſion of the vital principle of the conſtitution, by ſupporting the proprietorſhip of the Lords in the Commons? But if any one can be found barefaced and hardy enough to contend for the continuance of thoſe laws of monopoly, for the purpoſe of ſupporting the ſubverſion of the People's great conſtitutional, impreſcriptible right of being repreſented—although I might here cloſe this part of my ſubject, from having brought home the ſubverſion of the conſtitution to the Miniſters of the Crown, and the Lords—although I might content myſelf with having demonſtrated, that in this ſtruggle between Ariſtocracy and Democracy, the former, after being forced from their own place in the conſtitution by the great revolution in human affairs, have ſeized on the place which this great revolution has allotted the latter—although I might content myſelf with having demonſtrated, that the people who are charged with innovation, are only trying to regain their ancient conſtitutional, impreſcriptible rights, whilſt the Ariſtocracy which

* "They know that the Houſe of Lords is ſupported by its *connections* with the Crown and with the Houſe of Commons; and that without this double connection, the Lords could not exiſt a ſingle year."
BURKE's Letter to the Duke of PORTLAND, p. 70.

advances

advances the charge, after being driven from their ancient condition by the inflexible order of nature, are themſelves the real innovators, and the real uſurpers;—yet ſo ſtrong do I find myſelf on this great conſtitutional queſtion, that I will diſcuſs it ſtill farther, even with thoſe who contend that theſe laws of monopoly ſhould be continued, to ſupport the proprietorſhip of the Lords in the Commons.

Whether the great Revolution in Property has not ſo effectually deſtroyed the Conſtitutional Power of the Lords, that neither theſe Laws of Monopoly, nor their Proprietorſhip, can longer uphold them?

WERE I not furniſhed with arguments againſt this proprietorſhip the moſt concluſive, I might aſſert, that if it is neceſſary to continue theſe laws of monopoly, for the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting this proprietorſhip of the national repreſentation, the ſyſtem of proprietorſhip muſt ſtand charged with all the evils with which I have already ſhewn the continuance of theſe laws is attended—the deterioration of agriculture—the diverting of the ſacred funds of induſtry from reproduction, to channels of waſte, extravagance and folly, in which there is no reproduction whatever—the blighting of political œconomy, in all its branches and ramifications—the extending of the extremes of poverty and wealth to the injury of morals and of ſocial happineſs—the deſtruction of the laws of nature and juſtice, whereby the younger children of the rich are brought up to a ſtate of dependence which prepares them for proſtitution; but, above all, the deſtruction of civil and political liberty, by generating the few with diſpoſitions and means to influence, bribe and debauch the conſtituent body, and by reducing the conſtituent body to that ſtate of dependence and poverty which renders it liable to be influenced, bribed and debauched. But this proprietory ſyſtem contains vices, inherent in its nature, ſo deſtructive and fatal, that I will not dwell on any which are not purely its own. Indeed, I ſhall confine myſelf to one, and that no leſs concluſive than *that it not only contains the ſeeds of its own diſſolution within its own boſom*, but that the time of that diſſolution,

diſſolution, accelerated by the ignorance and wickedneſs of the preſent Miniſters, *is already accompliſhed.*

That the Proprietory Syſtem is a Suicide.

BEGINNING at the Revolution, when this ſyſtem of proprietorſhip of the national repreſentation, and the conſequent corruption, had their commencement, and taking the century which has intervened as a fair experiment of their nature and working, it will be found that they have advanced to diſſolution and bankruptcy, at an *accelerated pace in geometrical meaſure*, as appears from this plain ſtatement of facts—

At the Revolution England owed nothing - -	00,000,000	00,000,000
DURING		
9 years, from 1688, to 1697, Debt contracted,		21,515,742
5 years, from 1697, to 1702, Debt paid off,	5,121,041	
20 years, from 1702, to 1711, Debt contracted,		37,286,375
17 years, from 1722, to 1739, Debt paid off,	8,321,354	
9 years, from 1739, to 1748, Debt contracted,		31,338,689
7 years, from 1748, to 1755, Debt paid off,	6,003,643	
8 years, from 1775, to 1763, Debt contracted,		74,526,509
11 years, from 1763, to 1774, Debt paid off,	10,415,474	
8 years, from 1775, to 1783, Debt contracted,		137,608,881
10 years, from 1783, to 1793, Debt paid off	7,330,000	
6 years, from 1793, to 1799, Debt contracted,		242,660,308
Total Debt contracted, from 1688, to 1798,		564,936,514
Total of what Debt has been paid from 1688, to 1798 - - - - - - - - - - - - -	37,198,509	
Balance of Debt contracted from 1688, to 1798,		527,738,509

It will be found, by referring to the hiſtory of the period in queſtion, that every ſucceeding Miniſter came into power, under a promiſe on his part, and a moſt fervent hope and deſire on the part of the nation, that œconomy and retrenchment ſhould arreſt the fatal career—but that ſo congenial is extravagance, ſo inevitable is bankruptcy and ruin to this ſyſtem of proprietorſhip and corruption, that, under the various changes of Miniſters, every one of them has departed, leaving irrefutable proof that this deſtructive principle was attached to the ſyſtem, and that it was not to be cured by the man; until at length the period has arrived, when, although the Miniſter were to ſtop his

his accurſed career, the ſyſtem has received momentum enough to precipitate it into the gulph of perdition: For, granting that the Miniſter could make peace this inſtant, and that he could cloſe the account of the war with having expended but one hundred and fifty millions ſterling of the national capital, and granting the employments from which it was taken to have yielded but ten per cent. profit, he has reduced the national income fifteen millions a year. Let me then aſk, if, before the war, when the national income was fifteen millions more than it is at preſent, he could extort but ſixteen millions of annual revenue, and that, after a ten years peace, and after he had found out thoſe mediums of taxation at which duties prove moſt productive —how is it poſſible he ſhould be able to extort thirty millions of annual revenue out of the national income, after it had undergone fifteen millions reduction? I aſk, if liberty has bent under the influence which the collection and expenditure of ſixteen millions created before the commencement of this war, how ſhall liberty be able to exiſt under the influence which ariſes from the collection and expenditure of thirty millions, ſuppoſing for an inſtant that ſuch a monſtrous burden could be endured? And if this vaſt influence muſt inevitably cruſh the liberty of Britain, how is it poſſible that a nation bereſt of its freedom could continue to bear ſuch a burden?

That the meaſures which the Miniſter has taken to prevent the Revolution, have proved the moſt efficacious and rapid to haſten it.

ALTHOUGH theſe numerous facts cannot be refuted, yet there are others of ſuch weight in proving that the Miniſter and his accomplices have accelerated the deſtruction of the ſyſtem they boaſt of ſupporting, that I cannot omit them. The Miniſter has repeatedly boaſted that he has deſtroyed the national capital of France. That he ſhould make it a matter of triumph, affords one proof more of that ignorance by which he has ruined the empire, and of his incapacity for the ſtation he holds. If it cannot be denied that capital, like fluid, will find its own level amongſt the neighbouring countries—if it cannot be denied that

that the profits of capital are higheſt in thoſe countries where it is moſt ſcarce, and loweſt where it is the moſt plenty—I aſk this Miniſter, where is his ſubject for triumph if he cannot prevent the capital of England from flowing into France, to fill up the place of that capital he plumes himſelf upon having exhauſted? If it cannot be denied, that the profits of capital in France muſt have riſen in an exact proportion as he has diminiſhed the capital itſelf, by what means can he prevent the capitaliſts of England from ſending their capital from Britain where its profits are loweſt, to employ it in France where profits are higheſt? Yes! he may boaſt of having deſtroyed the whole capital of France; but if he cannot prevent the chaſm from being inſtantly filled up by a current of capital from every other quarter of the commercial world, and more from England than from any other nation in Europe, where is his ſubject for triumph? Is it not manifeſt that the relative ſituation of England and France, will be totally different at the end of this war, from their relative ſituation at any former period ſince their exiſtence as nations? When we conſider that the commerce and induſtry of France, from having laboured under a complication of oppreſſions and difficulties, will have become freer than the commerce and induſtry of any other commercial nation—when we conſider that the commerce of France, from being held in diſhonour, has become highly reſpected—who is ſo blind as not to perceive that France, with all theſe diſadvantages on her ſide, muſt attract the capital and the artizans of Great Britain? If it is fact, that the preſent revolution in Europe has been cauſed by thoſe laws of monopoly having confined property to fewer hands than it otherwiſe would be, and that no nation can arrive at tranquillity until property has become ſo divided, that thoſe who poſſeſs it ſhall be ſufficiently numerous to inſure its protection—if the property of France is much more divided than that of Great Britain, and if the abolition of the laws of monopoly in the one country, whilſt they are retained in the other, muſt make the diviſion of property much greater in France—is it not manifeſt that France will be every day approaching nearer to a ſtate of repoſe and ſecurity, whilſt England will be every day drawing nearer and nearer to a Revolution?

volution? In ſuch a dilemma, will the lands of England continue to ſell at thirty years' purchaſe, when the lands of Belgium and France are ſelling at eight? Will men detain their capital in England at ten, or even at fifteen per cent profit, when they can get five-and-twenty or thirty per cent. profit in France? Will men let their property or their earnings, be they of what ſort they may, remain in England, to have them eat up, not only by the moſt exorbitant taxes with which property or induſtry ever were burdened, but by requiſitions exacted by a retroſpect as unequal as unjuſt? Thus, it is manifeſt, the Miniſter and his accomplices have not only diſſipated the capital of Great Britain and Ireland by the expences of this war, which may be called purely their own, but that they muſt be drained of the remnant which after the war he may have left them, to ſupply his boaſted exhauſtion of France. I aſk, what becomes of the Britiſh Empire when her capital ſhall have been expended or transferred? Can ſhe retain her commerce or her manufactures after her national capital has vaniſhed? Can ſhe maintain her navy after her capital and commerce are gone? Or what is to become of this monſtrous ſyſtem, which depends on the preſent monſtrous debt? Let the Miniſter and his accomplices come forward and ſtand on their defence. Let thoſe who have been ſo general and ſo loud in their accuſations againſt the people, "of ſubverting the conſtitution," acquit themſelves from the charge of being its moſt rapid, tyrannic and bloody deſtroyers. Let thoſe men who have accuſed the people of plotting the deſtruction of the nation's proſperity, acquit themſelves of the charge of having brought the whole Britiſh Empire to bankruptcy and diſſolution. When this man and his accomplices inſult the people by calling them Jacobins, and when they talk of Jacobins making revolutions, can they deny that this great influx of wealth has actually happened from the progreſs of commerce, and the improvement in the mechanic powers? Can they deny that this great revolution in property from which I have reaſoned has taken place? Can they deny that the European mind has undergone a change whereby the moſt inveterate prejudices and the moſt confirmed habits of thinking have been wholly eradicated? Can they deny

deny that this vaſt revolution in property and in mind, muſt occaſion a great revolution in government and in political power? Let us at length arouſe from our deluſion, and make uſe of our reaſon. Let us examine what have *the people* to be alarmed at, what have *they* to regret, in this great revolution. Is it becauſe the increaſe of commerce, and the improvements in the mechanic powers, have occaſioned this vaſt influx of neceſſaries and conveniences for human uſe, that *the people* ſhould be alarmed, that the *people* ſhould have to regret? Is it that new and independent claſſes have been introduced into ſociety, or that the invention of the Preſs has diffuſed general knowledge, and taught a general ſenſe of the rights of mankind—that the *people* ſhould have to regret? If theſe are the real ingredients of this vaſt revolution which has made its appearance in the European world, what becomes of the charges againſt theſe wonder-working Jacobins? If theſe are the great and powerful cauſes which have ſhaken old and inveterate prejudices of barbarous ages, why the jargon that Jacobins are the revolutioniſts? If thoſe powerful cauſes are as great and as operative in Great Britain and Ireland as in France, why call them French principles? If this great revolution in property and in mind be the real cauſe of this revolution in Europe, why confine it to France? Has not this revolution in property, and have not theſe wonderful effects of the Preſs, taken place in Great Britain and Ireland? Why ſhould they not operate in the one as well as in the other? Or, are the people to be deluded by names? Are they to be taken in with the cant and jargon of "good old principles," at a time when every good principle has fallen a prey to uſurpation, corruption and deſpotic power, and that every ſlaviſh and tyrannic principle has been made to replace them? In the name of Heaven, where will the inſolence of this man and his accomplices end? Contraſt the conduct and views of the People with the Miniſter's acts. The People claim the reſtitution of that real repreſentation, which ever has, and ever muſt form, the only baſis upon which, not only the conſtitution and liberties of Britain and Ireland can reſt, but that upon which only the Liberties of Mankind can be ſupported. Yet for this have the Miniſter and his accomplices reviled them as

Jacobins.

Jacobins. It is not this vaſt revolution, and influx of wealth and knowledge, that ſhould alarm the people, or that they ſhould regret. No! It is their blood and their wealth, which have been laviſhed to oppoſe and counteract this revolution, that they ſhould regret. It is their blood and their wealth, which have been expended to ſupport thoſe accurſed laws of monopoly, the proprietory of their national repreſentation, and the conſequent corruption which has paralyzed every member of their political frame, that they have to regret. It is the erecting of barracks, the repeal of the Habeas Corpus, the ſetting at nought the trial by Jury, the iſſue of blank *lettres de cachet*; the ſubſtitution of the Baſtile, whoſe bolts no longer obey the mandates of law; the introduction of torture; the clogging the freedom of the Preſs, that boaſt of the conſtitution, with enormous impoſts, afterwards ſickening it by corruption, and finally deſtroying it by military force; the crouding the gallies with thouſands without any trial whatever; the conſuming whole diſtricts by fire at the diſcretion of an incited military, the robbery and deſtruction of property; the murders which have been perpetrated, in contempt of all law, on thoſe againſt whom there was a ſuſpicion of being ſuſpected; the blaſting confidence between man and man, and corrupting the public mind, by creating a ſyſtem of ſpies and informers; the deſtruction by law of almoſt the entire right of diſcuſſion, and its total annihilation by a "vigour beyond the law;" the converting the national repreſentation into a chamber for regiſtering his requiſitions and edicts; by expending,

In	1793, - -	5,622,272
	1794, - -	10,485,548
	1795, - -	15,468,295
	1796, - -	*17,885,218

without the grant, conſent, or knowledge of Parliament, and by ſending 1,200,000l. out of the kingdom while Parliament ſat, without deigning to inform them of it—Theſe daring violations of their deareſt rights have indeed alarmed

* It is ſtrange to obſerve how utterly this Miniſter deſpiſes the Houſe of Commons. In 1796 he expended, without the previous conſent of Parliament, 2,932,532l. more, than he expended with their conſent.

the

the people; theſe, they have ſorely regretted. Can any one acquainted with the conſtitution recogniſe one of its features in theſe deeds of the Miniſter? Is it poſſible that a conſtitution which contained ſo many of the pureſt principles of Liberty, could require all thoſe means of the rankeſt tyranny and deſpotiſm to uphold it? I put it to any reflecting mind, whether it can diſcover, in this ſyſtem of the Miniſter and his accomplices, one ſingle reſuſcitating principle by which it can be reſcued from ruin? Can it diſcover the ſmalleſt crevice through which external peace or internal ſecurity can enter?—whether, after five years of the moſt violent means, ſymptoms have not grown more deadly every hour? Senſeleſs man! and ſenſeleſs herd who follow in your train! Do you not perceive that all your efforts have been vain, to ſupport this ſyſtem of proprietorſhip and corruption? Do you not perceive that it carries in its own boſom the ſeeds of its diſſolution? Do you not perceive that your victories are but as the cordial draughts to the conſumptive ſubject, which animate for the moment, but are inſtantly ſucceeded by the collapſe which denotes confirmed ulcers and confirmed decay? Do you not perceive, that by the great and inexorable order of nature, ſociety has arrived at that period in which Hereditary Ariſtocracy and Repreſentative Democracy cannot exiſt together, and that you cannot eſtabliſh the former, unleſs you deſtroy that great revolution which has taken place in property and in mind, that has erected and greatened the latter? You muſt deſtroy commerce, and its influx of wealth. You muſt deſtroy machinery, its abridgements of labour, and its influx of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life. You muſt deſtroy, not only the preſs, not only every book in exiſtence, but you muſt deſtroy the actual mind of the world. Then, and not until then, hereditary uſurpation and deſpotiſm may rule and lord it over ignorance, ſuperſtition, miſery and vaſſalage. But if you will have the wealth, independence and knowledge, which the inventions of the compaſs, the preſs, and the improvements in the mechanical powers, have brought into the world, you may be aſſured, that the gigantic Democracy which they have created *muſt have a real, efficient, controuling repreſentation.*

If,

If, in the infancy of the conſtitution, when the finances of the whole nation were not equal to the taxes of a ſingle pariſh at preſent, the national repreſentation was compoſed of honeſt, faithful guardians of the national purſe—if the people ſuffered, ſuffering with them—if the people were plundered, having no ſhare in the ſpoil—how, when the nation has hundreds of millions to manage, ſhall the entire be left at the mercy of the Miniſter of the Crown, inveſted with unbounded means of corrupting, and a proprietory with every diſpoſition and intereſt to be corrupted? Or, taking the laſt hundred years for a teſt of its working, is it within the ſcope of phyſical poſſibility, that ſuch a ſyſtem, under ſuch temptation to ruin and bankruptcy, can avoid diſſolution? No doubt, if wiſdom had directed the councils, the hereditary and proprietory ſyſtem might have been longer continued. But the Miniſter, inſtead of repairing or propping the ancient and tottering fabric, has, by overloading the upper parts, and undermining its foundation, prepared it to fall by the ſtorm his wickedneſs and folly have gathered. It ſtands like ſome ancient ruin, once the temple of the gods, but now a den where midnight robbers divide their ſpoil. Its columns mutilated, its arches broken, it holds together by the ancient cement of its mortar, and the creeping weeds which conceal the beauties of its ſimple features, until at length the vermin, neſtling at its baſe, having undermined the whole, it waits but for the equinoctial blaſt ſent to equaliſe the unequal elements, to ſtrike the ancient fabric to the earth, never, never to be imitated by human art. If this is the ſtate to which this man and his accomplices have reduced us, why not employ the few moments which are left us to meet the ſtorm? Why not ſnatch our fate from the hands of theſe men, who have hurried us to the brink of ruin? Why not collect whatever talent, experience and virtue can be found in the nation, and, by one bold, decided effort, reſcue ourſelves from the confuſion, calamity and horror of a revolutionary conteſt?

It may perhaps be objected, that I have digreſſed from diſcuſſing the ſtate of Ireland, to diſcuſs the ſtate of Great Britain. But when it became a queſtion how far the conſtitution had been impaired, how much of it remained in

exiſtence, whether it be poſſible to renovate it, or whether it is not on the verge of ſuch utter deſtruction that it muſt be built up anew—I thought it fairer to examine it in Great Britain, where ſome remnants exiſted, than in Ireland alone, where not a veſtige remained. Beſides, the ſyſtem of corruption and military force which have been ſubſtituted in the place of that part of the conſtitution of which we once were poſſeſſed, is ſo wholly in the power of the Britiſh Miniſter, that to aſcertain the ſtability or permanence of the ſyſtem which has been adopted in Ireland, it was abſolutely neceſſary to aſcertain the ſtability or permanence of the ſyſtem which has been adopted in Great Britain; and having done ſo, I will conclude the account of our political ſtate.

Effects of the French Revolution on the Iriſh Mind.

Much as the European mind has been advanced, widely as political knowledge has been diffuſed, and conſiderably as inveterate prejudices have been deſtroyed, by the colliſion of ſentiment which the Revolution of France has occaſioned; in no country in Europe has it produced more important effects than in our own. Before this great epoch, an opinion had been generally accredited among the Proteſtants of Ireland, that Catholics were incapable of either claiming or poſſeſſing political freedom; that paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, and a belief that the ſacrifice of the Rights of Man in this world, as the only means of attaining happineſs in the world to come, are principal tenets of Catholic faith; and, like the ſlave-drivers in the Weſt Indies, the Iriſh Proteſtants, after laſhing their Catholic countrymen into a mental torpor, ſet up the debaſement cauſed by their own tyranny as an eternal barrier againſt Catholic freedom. For the honour of human nature, for the honour of the Britiſh character, it were to be wiſhed that a veil could be thrown over the rapine and tyranny which the Hiſtory of Ireland diſplays from the firſt landing of the Engliſh adventurers in 1169, until the American War. But it affords too dearly bought an example of what a ſix hundred years of oppreſſion, debaſement and tyranny, *one united effort* to deſtroy foreign

foreign uſurpation would have prevented, for the Friends of Liberty to wiſh to have the recital ſuppreſſed. For the preſent, I ſhall only obſerve, that the Revolution of 1688, which in England was a triumph of liberty over bigotry and deſpotiſm, was in Ireland a Revolution from a ſyſtem of predatory warfare and tyranny againſt perſons, opinions and property, to a more orderly and legalized ſyſtem of national debaſement and plunder. We lay proſtrate, deſpicable, and overwhelmed with wretchedneſs, until a ſpark of liberty ſtruck from the American conteſt, grew into a flame ſtrong enough to melt the viſible chains with which Great Britain has bound us, but too weak to reach thoſe ſecret bonds by which a few factions of the moſt contemptible traitors delivered the great and eſſential rights of their country into the hands of foreign agents, for which they were rewarded with the wreck and remnant to be ſcrambled for by the moſt ſhameleſs, abject, hungry crew, that ever ſold themſelves to another country, or that ever betrayed their own. An attempt, indeed, was made to deſtroy them; but it was the effort of contracted bigotry, and ſerved but to expoſe its impotence. At the inſtant it meditated the deſtruction of one uſurpation, it ſought to ſet up another, under the wicked and fooliſh project of eſtabliſhing the liberties of one million upon the ſlavery of three millions. But when France, containing 25,000,000 of Catholics, more the capital of the Catholic Religion than even Rome—when France, the country where the Catholic Clergy of Ireland were principally educated, and where the plundered and perſecuted Iriſh Catholics had for centuries found an aſylum—when this great Catholic nation eſtabliſhed her liberties on the ruin of religious and political thraldom; the Proteſtants of Ireland were convinced that no particular religion, in this enlightened ſtate of the European world, was incompatible with political freedom; whilſt the ſpirit and ability with which the Catholics of Ireland demanded their liberties, was an unerring proof in the eyes of their Proteſtant countrymen that they were entitled to gain them. Thus the erroneous opinion on which our diviſions and weakneſs were founded, was deſtroyed by the Revolution of France; and the bigotry and tyranny by which our iſland has been de-

baſed and degraded for ſix hundred years in the eyes of the world, has been eradicated from the minds of the people. The banns have been indiſſolubly ſolemnized, and THE INFANT LIBERTIES OF IRELAND MUST BE THE FRUITS OF THEIR UNION. From this period, a period the moſt auſpicious for Ireland, religious concerns have been conſigned to their proper place, between the individual and his God, to whom alone they belong. From this period, the only difference exiſting among us has been between the nation which demands her rights and a few traitors who uſurp and withhold them. The hiſtory of the conteſt is too recent, and too deeply engraved on your feelings, to require to be minutely detailed. You have marked the inſolence with which the infant voice of Catholic Liberty was ſpurned by uſurpation and bigotry. You obſerved the ſame voice afterward, in a higher key, and a more peremptory tone, ſtrike upon the fears or the convenience of the Britiſh Miniſter; and it is of little conſequence to inquire, whether it reverberated on the venality of an Iriſh Parliament, or on its impotence to reſiſt the mandate of a Britiſh Miniſter, or on both—It is enough to mark, that the ſame men who ſo inſolently ſpurned the modeſt claims of the Catholics of Ireland to a part of their rights, and pledged their lives and fortunes to reſiſt them for ever, in the ſame breath, at the mandate of the Britiſh Miniſter, conceded, with a meanneſs in perfect conformity with their former inſolence, theſe very rights they had ſworn never to yield. You have ſeen the national union advancing with increaſing vigour and ſpirit, from the attainment of a part of their rights, to a bold and manly demand of them all. You ſaw the proprietory of your national repreſentation capitulate, and make a virtual acknowledgment of their uſurpation, You ſaw the tribe of borough-mongers, whoſe lives have been ſpent in the baſeſt venality, proſtitution and treaſon, attend the Houſe of Commons with plans of reform. You ſaw the moſt bigoted uſurpers anxious to atone for former perſecution, by the moſt ardent profeſſions in favour of Catholic freedom. The Proteſtant mind was elated with the proſpect of immediate Reform, or rather reſtoration of the national repreſentation. The Catholic mind was cheered with the proſpect of being inſtantly

ſtantly raiſed from the degradation of proſcription to the rights of the Citizen—In a word the whole Iriſh mind was wound up to the higheſt ſtate of ardent expectation, that their rights and liberties would be peaceably conceded by thoſe who uſurped them. Why have theſe fond hopes been raiſed? Why have they been inſultingly blaſted?

The Britiſh Miniſter, perceiving that his apoſtacy from every profeſſion and principle which recommended him to public confidence—perceiving that the blood he had wickedly laviſhed, the millions he had miſchievouſly ſquandered, and the liberty he had daringly violated, was beginning to weaken his power—he foreſaw how neceſſary it was to detach all thoſe who could be ſeduced from the oppoſite party, that the impracticability of forming an efficient Miniſtry may enable him to live out the corrupt and ruinous ſyſtem he had ſo greatly promoted. In this provident ſcheme, Ireland was thrown into the ſcale as a mere make-weight, to balance the portion of plunder by which the Portland faction was to be bought; and that it might be made worth an acceptance, the moſt univerſally execrated Iriſh factions were diſmiſſed, to make room for the moſt popular Parliamentary characters; the old meaſures to be abandoned, and new ones adopted. But as ſoon as the Britiſh Miniſter had reduced his new allies to ſuch a ſtate that he could ſafely inſult them—as ſoon as he rendered them contemptible in office, and even more contemptible, becauſe more inſignificant, ſhould they reſign it—by means of thoſe indefinite equivocal terms he can ſo adroitly employ, he reſeized on Ireland, and reinſtated his minions. Thus with unparalleled chicane and villainy, that he might prop his tottering power, he raiſed the moſt ſanguine hopes of the nation, that thoſe eſſential rights of the conſtitution would be conceded, to which they had every claim which faith, juſtice, and long and patient ſufferings, could warrant. Yet, to anſwer his own perſonal views, has this man outraged every feeling which could agitate the mind or intereſt the heart of a gallant and generous people. Inſtead of pouring balm on the wounds he inflicted, he has poured in Britiſh troops and Britiſh millions, to ſupport the execrable factions he ſo lately abandoned, that, in the plenitude of their power, they may wreak their vengeance on the

the nation, for the joy with which it had celebrated their former diſmiſſal. At the very inſtant that a Coloſſean power, combining a population of * fifty millions, with all the fire and enterprize of Republican ardour, threatens the annihilation of the Britiſh Empire, regardleſs of every conſideration but his own aggrandizement, he has eradicated with fire and ſword that affection for Britiſh connection from the hearts of the Iriſh, which policy would have nurtured in the minds of the Catholics, and which nothing but the moſt wanton and barbarous tyranny could have torn from the breaſts of the diſſenters. What ſtronger proof can be adduced that the conſtitution has been deſtroyed, than that one man ſhould thus ſport with the deareſt intereſts of one country, and with a connection invaluable to the other? Let us examine upon what ground he ſtands to violate the deareſt rights, and to outrage the feelings of the Iriſh nation, to a degree which no deſpot in Europe, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, durſt venture with the moſt abject of his vaſſals. Let us analyze the ingredients with which this charlatan has quacked, poiſoned, and tormented our political frame. I aſk, is it not a fact that Lord Shannon has made a private property of the power of returning thirteen members to *legiſlate* in our national repreſentation? Has not Lord Ely poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſame power of returning nine? Lord Downſhire, eight? The Beresford faction, eight? Lord Abercorn, ſeven? Lord Kingſton, ſeven? Lord Londonderry, five? Lord Caledon, four? The La Touches, ſeven? Bruen, ſix? Foſter, five? To abridge this odious detail, I aſk, is it not a fact that thirty men, principally Lords, have poſſeſſed themſelves of the power of returning a decided majority of that aſſembly, which, *by the conſtitution, ſhould be the real repreſentation of the whole people of Ireland?* I aſk, is it not a fact, that theſe thirty men have an account, debit and credit, with the agent of the Britiſh Miniſter, where, in the rankeſt and fouleſt treaſon, they make an unlimited transfer, by the agency and ſuffrage of their ſpurious baſtard delegates, of the blood and wealth of the Iriſh nation, not only to ſupport a war, in which ſhe has

* Holland, Italy, &c.

no concern, and can derive no poſſible benefit, but to pay for that treaſon which deſtroys her liberty, her markets, her manufactures and commerce beſide? I aſk, is it not a fact that, to reward this diabolical treaſon, our beauteous iſland has been parcelled out amongſt theſe thirty men into diſtricts, ſized and apportioned to the number and weight of the delegates with which each ſtands credited in the ledger of uſurpation and treaſon? Is it not a fact that in theſe diſtricts, theſe farmers-general of our rights have the appointment of officers of revenue, licenſed extortioners on the foreign trade of the nation, throughout our harbours and ſea-ports, exciſe officers to ſweep the inland, ſheriffs and grand jurors to rob on the highways, even converting the veſtments of a Chriſtian Miniſtry into a pall to cover proſtitution, and the ermine of juſtice into a cloak for corruption? Is it not a fact, that for betraying the rights and intereſt of their country, after providing for their families, their adherents and creatures, they divide amongſt themſelves hundreds of thouſands of the money of the moſt wronged and impoveriſhed nation on earth, in jobs, in penſions, and in ſinecure places? Are theſe the miſcreants who paſſed the convention bill, and diſarmed the Iriſh nation, to ſecure their uſurpations, corruptions, and treaſon? Are theſe the men who, after indemnifying the moſt atrocious outrage of the moſt ſacred laws, enacted a code for ſubſtituting *lettres de cachet*, the baſtile, and the gallies, on the ruins of Habeas Corpus, and trial by Jury? Are theſe the men who have poiſoned confidence between man and man, by inſtituting an infernal ſyſtem of perjurers, ſpies and informers? Are theſe the men that, from a conſciouſneſs that their uſurpation, corruption and treaſon could not ſtand the teſt of inquiry, deſtroyed DISCUSSION, and aſſaſſinated the PRESS? Are theſe the men who, after exhauſting their vindictive invention in framing ſanguinary laws, ſkulked to the Council to let ſlip an excited military to wreak their vengeance, with fire and ſword, on the IRISH PEOPLE, and after, ſkulked to *their Houſe of Commons*, to wind up their automaton delegates, not only to ſanction their murders, but to panegyrize them as the Saviours of the Conſtitution; whilſt, in the execution of the ſacred truſt of legiſlation, their impoſtor delegates were

ſo

ſo many living proofs that they were its moſt tyrannic ſubverters; and the very outrages they ſanctioned and applauded were unerring teſtimony, that to ſecure their uſurpation of the eſſential rights of the conſtitution, they had conſigned all the reſt to the flames, the bayonet, and the dungeon.

In the awful preſence of God, and of your Country, I aſk you, Iriſh Citizens, who have ſworn to maintain the Conſtitution in whoſe defence you have armed, ARE THESE FACTS FOUNDED IN TRUTH? Come forward; ſhrink not from the queſtion which involves you in diſgrace and infamy. Abandon the wretched pretext for ſilence which has been ſet up, that, in arming and ſwearing to defend the conſtitution, you have forfeited the right of diſcuſſion. Sworn to protect it, you are ſworn to diſcuſs it, that you may know againſt whom you are to defend it. In vain ſhall you ſet up ſuch a ſqueamiſh apology. The ever memorable volunteers, to whom Ireland owes whatever part of the conſtitution ſhe ever enjoyed, have given you a precedent for blending the duties of the ſoldier with the rights of the citizen. Or, if you prefer the example of thoſe who have deſtroyed every veſtige of the Conſtitution, you will find in the late Houſe of Commons, who debated in martial array. You may find it in the printed reſolutions of thoſe Engliſh Fencibles, who, under the powerful inſpiration of additional pay, almoſt on the day they were landed in your capital, amidſt twenty-two thouſand ſtarving inhabitants, gave a decided opinion of the *excellence* of the *Iriſh Conſtitution*, of the bleſſings it imparts, and of the zeal with which they meant to ſupport it. You may have a precedent from theſe Ancient Britons, a haggard crew, iſſuing from their homes with their heads as ſtupid as their hills are ſteril, ſcarcely poured forth upon our fertile plains, when ſmartened into Janizaries, brightened by the conflagration of our houſes, and rendered keen by the ſcent and taſte of Iriſh blood—they have given an opinion of the *excellence* of the *Iriſh Conſtitution*.

I do not addreſs myſelf to thoſe corporations where each finds countenance in the venality of his aſſociates, and inſolently glories in his proſtitution; raſcally Citizens who turn batteries, which had been raiſed againſt deſpotiſm,

on

on the Liberties of their Country. Nor do I addreſs myſelf to Jobbers and Contractors, licenſed peculators, nor to thoſe political traitors whoſe patrimony is uſurpation, and whoſe trade is parricide; nor to the corrupt men in the law, or in the revenue, who ſhoot the Goſpels from hand to hand, to weave the web of extortion and villany, and ſcatter it piecemeal with the breath of perjury. But I addreſs myſelf to thoſe who do not feel that we are a conquered people; to thoſe who do not acknowledge that foreign mercenaries are excluſively entitled to the ſovereign right of Iriſh Citizens to diſcuſs the Iriſh Conſtitution; to thoſe who are not callous to the ſtings and anguiſh of a guilty conſcience; to thoſe who are not inſenſible to the ſhame and infamy which attend on public detection of perjury and parricide. Embodied and ſworn to defend the Conſtitution and Liberties of Ireland, you ſtand charged with ſupporting TRAITORS, who have uſurped the National Repreſentation, and ſubverted the Conſtitution. Arraigned and put on your trial, to be ſilent is to plead guilty to the charge. In vain ſhall you attempt to evade *condemnation* by the jargon of attachment to loyalty and conſtitution, with which you have loaded the Newſpapers in your ſtupid addreſs? In vain ſhall you attempt to fritter away the charge, by accuſing the people of Ireland of having conſpired to ſubvert the Conſtitution. You muſt firſt anſwer, *has it not been ſubverted already by the uſurpation, corruption and treaſon of thoſe very men you ſupport?* Yet, unfounded as is this accuſation againſt the UNITED PEOPLE OF IRELAND, it would ill-become me to ſhrink from the charge, who have exerted myſelf by every means in my power to promote that UNION, upon which, in my mind, the ſalvation of my Country depends, and on which I have ſtaked my life, my name, and all that to me is dear upon earth.

DEFENCE

DEFENCE

OF

THE UNITED PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

YES! the People of Ireland have united in a GLORIOUS CONSPIRACY to deſtroy religious bigotry and national thraldom. They have bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn engagement, that Religion ſhall no longer be made the inſtrument by which the Iriſh Nation ſhall be divided, enſlaved and debaſed. They have ſworn to annihilate Corruption, Uſurpation and Treaſon, and to regain their conſtitutional, impreſcriptible right of being repreſented. Here, then, are the Catholics of Ireland, the Diſſenters of Ireland, and every Parliamentary Proteſtant without the pale of Corruption and Bigotry, on the one ſide, and a few contemptible uſurpers of our national repreſentation, principally Lords, their automaton delegates, and a few deluded, bigoted extirpators, backed and ſupported by the Britiſh Miniſter, on the other ſide. In the worſt of times, let us dare be honeſt. Let us boldly examine which of theſe *committed opponents* have deſtroyed the Conſtitution and Liberties of Ireland. If the King of Ireland has been dethroned from the hearts and affections of the People of Ireland, let us inquire who has dethroned him. If the Lords have been rendered baſe, contemptible, and a nuiſance, let us inquire *how they have been created.* If the Houſe of Commons has been filled with impoſtor ſpurious delegates, let us drag thoſe to puniſhment who have polluted it with their ſuppoſititious abortions.

Whether the United People of Ireland, or the Miniſter and his Accomplices, have deſtroyed Monarchy in Ireland?

IT will not be denied that the great Revolution in property and in mind, which I have already explained, has rendered it a moſt difficult taſk to ſupport hereditary power.

As

As long as mankind were immerſed in ignorance, ſuperſtition and clanſhip, they were neceſſitated to ſubmit to hereditary Magiſtracy, with all its vices*, its evils, its corruptions and tyranny, to avoid that confuſion and bloodſhed with which, in ſuch a ſtate, every election muſt have been attended. But, now that the mind, enlightened, and freed from prejudice and feudal dependence, can ſelect the men of the beſt talents, and the moſt virtue, to fill the higheſt offices, without confuſion or conteſt, nought but the moſt frugal, faithful and able diſcharge of its functions, could make hereditary Magiſtracy to be longer endured.

From the luſt of power, and impatience of controul, natural to hereditary Magiſtracy, it is not difficult for a Miniſter, ſurcharged with deceit, with cunning, and with the love of domination, highly gifted with eloquence, and ſupported by factions who live by uſurpation and corruption, to perſuade a King to graſp at abſolute power, and to break down thoſe ſacred bounds by which the Conſtitution has limited the authority with which it inveſts him. It is eaſy for ſuch a Miniſter, with ſuch accomplices, to perſuade a King, that the temporary expedients which may anſwer the ephemeral intereſts of thoſe inſects who paſs in continual ſucceſſion about a throne, are equally advantageous to hereditary Magiſtracy, which aims at being immortal. How ſhall a King, whoſe education and office debars him from having a friend, find a man honeſt enough to tell him, that thoſe meaſures which are abſolutely neceſſary to maintain ignorant, profligate Miniſters in office, are as deſtructive of his hereditary Kingſhip? Where ſhall he find a friend who will remind him, that the Stuarts have been led to the block, and driven to exile, by making antiquated precedents and deſpotic counſels the rule of their conduct, and by diſregarding that exiſting,

* "Ambition with idleneſs, meanneſs with pride, a deſire to enrich themſelves without labour, an averſion to truth, flattery, treaſon, perfidy, the abandonment of all their engagements, a contempt for the duties of the Citizen, a dread of the Magiſtrate's virtue, Hope from his vices, and more than all the perpetual ridicule of Virtue." Monteſquieu's Spirit of Laws. "Theſe are the vices which," this Sage ſays, "have, in all places, and at all times, characterized Courts."

living

living mind, whoſe ſtate of knowledge and independence ſhould be the guide of the Magiſtrate's duty? True, the Miniſter, and his accomplices, are loudeſt in trumpeting their loyalty to Monarchy. But what ſort of Monarchy is it? A Miniſterial monſter which devours millions of human victims: A monſter which ſquanders hundreds of millions of national wealth: A monſter which bears down the intereſt, the reaſon, the liberties and the happineſs of mankind, by corruption and military force. Is it not a fact, that, inſtead of that Monarchy which the Conſtitution inveſts with the execution of the laws, and with the power of merely accepting or rejecting them at their formation, the Miniſter and his accomplices have converted the Monarchy into a Miniſterial Deſpotiſm, with powers ſo enormous, that, at its mandate, the moſt ſanguinary, tyrannical laws are ſure to be paſſed, the violation of all laws is ſure to find an indemnification, and laws the moſt wholeſome, without its concurrence, are as ſurely rejected? After the whole power of the Monarchy of Ireland, in the Miniſter's hands, has been employed for the purpoſes of the baſeſt intrigues, in dividing and buying the factions in England to ſupport his tottering power—after he has alienated the affection and confidence of the Iriſh people for Monarchy, by thus wantonly ſporting with their feelings; at one moment raiſing their hopes, and blaſting them after to anſwer his perſonal views—which are the betrayers of Monarchy, the United People of Ireland who have paſſively ſuffered theſe inſults and injuries, or the Miniſter who has dared to inflict them? Had it been within the ſcope of phyſical poſſibility to uphold hereditary Kingſhip, I aſk, which was moſt likely to ſupport it—the Miniſter, who has placed it above controul, by an overwhelming corruption which has ended in bankruptcy, by the moſt ſanguinary tyrannical laws, and by military power; or, the United People of Ireland, who demand that its power ſhall be limited by the firm eſtabliſhment of a frugal, a faithful and perfect Repreſentation of the WHOLE IRISH PEOPLE?

Whether

Whether the United People of Ireland, or the Miniſter and his accomplices, have deſtroyed the Peerage as a Branch of the Legiſlature?

If this great revolution in property and mind, to which I have often alluded, has rendered it difficult to maintain hereditary kingſhip, it has not rendered it leſs difficult to uphold hereditary lordſhip. Yet it will be found that the Miniſter has done as much to deſtroy the latter as I have proved he has done to deſtroy the former. He has created Engliſhmen peers of Ireland, without property, connection, reſidence, or any one conſtitutional qualification. He has driven the Iriſh Peers of the beſt property out of the country, to avoid inſignificance and mortification, from his having attached all conſequence ariſing from patronage or intereſt, to the borough-mongering lords of his making. Has he not reduced the attendant lords nearly to peers of his own creation, whoſe ſole or principal property conſiſts in their proprietorſhip of their impoſtor delegates, which they ſell for clerkſhips in the revenue, clerkſhips in the poſt-office, clerkſhips in the law offices, and a thouſand ſinecure places, as emblematic of their beggary and meanneſs as of their venality and proſtitution? Has he not ſet up the Iriſh Peerage to auction, where diſgrace and infamy could be the ſole bidders for honours which only could ſuit them, and was it not paid for in the baſe coin of counterfeit repreſentation? Has he not converted the Iriſh peerage into jugglers, who pull the wires of the puppets they have ſtuffed, deck and bedizened with the goods they have robbed from the Nation? I aſk, then, which has deſtroyed the Conſtitutional Peerage, as far as its deſtruction was in the power of either—the Miniſter, who has created Lords who can exiſt no longer than they are ſuffered to uſurp the inalienable, conſtitutional right of the people to repreſentation—or the People, who, by reclaiming this inalienable, conſtitutional right, reduce theſe Lords to that nullity from which the Miniſter raiſed them?

Whether

Whether the Separation of Ireland from Britain has been occaſioned by the Miniſter and his accomplices, or by the United People of Ireland?

The connection between nation and nation is cemented and ſtrengthened by its being placed on the baſis of juſtice and reciprocal benefit. It is a bond founded on intereſt; and when that is violated, all bond of connection is broken. If I have clearly demonſtrated that the Miniſter and his accomplices have transferred every means which the People of Ireland poſſeſſed of acquiring national wealth to enrich the People of Britain—if I have ſhewn that, to pay the infamous traitors who have made the ſurrender, he has abandoned the pittance their induſtry gathers, under its mutilated means, to peculation, corruption and plunder—and if, to ſupport this unparalleled outrage of national juſtice, he has employed Britons in maſſacring, in burning, in torturing the Iriſh—which have torn the bonds of alliance aſunder, the fiends who have violated every law of our nature, or the United People of Ireland, who have been betrayed, plundered and butchered?

As long as the Proteſtants would be tyrants over their Catholic Countrymen, who were triple their number, they were at the mercy of England's protection. As long as this deteſtable tyranny was in exiſtence, no demand of Great Britain, however unjuſt, could be diſputed. But, now that the Proteſtants have abandoned this ruinous parricide; now that they are ſenſible of the folly and wickedneſs of ſacrificing their natural rights for the gratification of the moſt horrible paſſion; now that they have united with their Catholic Countrymen in demanding thoſe rights they once ſo baſely relinquiſhed—with a population of more than four millions, and eight hundred thouſand able to bear arms; in one of the ſtrongeſt countries of Europe by nature, and ſtill ſtronger by art, where every field is a fortification, and every acre may be diſputed; they diſclaim all protection which is to be purchaſed at the expence of their national rights and their national honour. They feel that Ireland is as independent of Britain, as Britain is independent of her. They are ſenſible that every connection

connection between free and independent nations ſhould be of its own nature a voluntary act; and they know that connections which are not voluntary, are chains which the tyrant throws over the ſlave he has conquered, chains which Ireland, indignant throws off; and to the laſt man, Iriſhmen will die ſooner than wear them. Inſtead of a connection where every thing is ſurrendered on their part, and every thing is withheld on the part of Great Britain, the people of Ireland demand that ſtrict juſtice and reciprocal benefit ſhall be the bond of alliance. Contraſt this manly aſſertion of their national rights with the jargon of traitors, who cry up the weakneſs of Ireland, and decry her ſtrength; aſſerting, with the glorious example of American freedom full in their teeth, that if we are not a province to England we muſt be a province to France. Contraſt this with the language of miſcreants who have dared to aſſert, that the moſt traitorous ſacrifice of the produce of our agriculture to non-reſident landlords without a return, of our markets, our manufactures, our home trade, our foreign trade—even our very name as a nation, was not too much to inſure them the ſupport of Great Britain, to perpetuate their uſurpation and plunder. Had the Miniſter one ray of a Stateſman's conception, inſtead of attempting to maintain ſuch an unjuſt and unequal connection by ſupporting ſuch an infamous faction, from the inſtant that he had ſeen the Proteſtants of Ireland abandon their tyrannic bigotry, and unite with their Catholic countrymen in the glorious cauſe of regaining their national rights, he would have ſeen the neceſſity of yielding a prompt and gracious conceſſion of what he could no longer withhold.

The only Charge which remains to be anſwered of thoſe which have been made againſt the United People of Ireland, is, their having reſolved to create a Republic.

When an argument turns on the meaning of terms, they ſhould be ſtrictly defined; for names and indefinite terms are the great engines by which the knaves impoſe on the fools of the world. Had the Chief Executive Magiſtrate in our Conſtitution been called a Stadtholder, with ten times more power than the Conſtitution allots him, our Government

Government would be called a Republic. I might quote the Author of the Spirit of Laws to prove that our conſtitution is a Republic. But, reſpectable as is his authority, I prefer appealing to definition and facts. Then, taking that to be a republic where the *public affairs* are controuled by the bulk of the people; what was there in Greece or in Rome more truly republican than that every houſeholder, as was formerly, or that every man poſſeſſed of ſo ſmall a property as forty ſhillings freehold a year, as is the ſuppoſed right at preſent, ſhould exerciſe, by his delegates, inveſted with the ſole power over the national purſe, an entire controul over every act of the executive power? What was there more truly republican in Greece or in Rome than that the people ſhould be bound only by laws of their delegates' making? What was there more truly republican in Greece or in Rome than that the whole conſtituted authorities, legiſlative, executive and judicial, ſhould be equally bound by the laws as the pooreſt man in the nation? What was there more truly republican in any republic that ever exiſted, than that a hair of the moſt inſignificant citizen's head ſhall not be injured, unleſs he had been found guilty of having tranſgreſſed the law by the unanimous judgment of twelve of his neighbours taken from the maſs of the people? Who will contend that Rome, half freemen, half ſlaves, or that Greece, half citizens, half helots, were equally republican as our conſtitution, which ordains that the ſlave ſhall be free the inſtant he ſets his foot on our ſoil? Is our conſtitution leſs a republic becauſe our democracy acts by repreſentation? Is democracy leſs powerful or leſs ſecured from being impoſed on, if, with the organization of Alfred, and the frequent elections of primitive parliaments, it was to exerciſe the right of ſelecting whatever talents and virtue were to be found in the nation, than if it were to act as a mob? If the Peers were reſtrained within thoſe bounds which the conſtitution allots them, would they be leſs reſtricted than the Patricians or Senate of Rome? If the Executive Magiſtrate were limited to thoſe powers which the conſtitution has ſanctioned, would our liberties have more to dread from what we call a King, than the liberties of Rome had to fear from what the Romans called a Conſul? It is

not

not to Monarchy we are indebted for the freedom our conſtitution contains: the nations of Europe had Monarchs, but the people were ſlaves. It is not to the Nobles we are indebted for the freedom our conſtitution contains: the nations of Europe had Nobles, yet the people were ſlaves. It is to what every people that ever exiſted owed their freedom that we muſt be indebted for our's. It is to OURSELVES that we muſt be indebted for whatever freedom we have, or ſhall ever poſſeſs. No wonder the Miniſter and his accomplices, who have deſtroyed the republic, ſhould charge the United People of Ireland of conſpiring ITS RESTORATION. Waving, for a moment, the impreſcriptible right of the nation to ſet aſide inſtitutions, however ancient, which in the revolution of human affairs have been rendered injurious, and of creating inſtitutions which the revolution in human affairs has rendered imperiouſly neceſſary, but making the conſtitution the ſtandard to judge by —I aſk, is that the conſtitutional Monarchy which is ſubject to no controul but that of a proprietory repreſentation, which it can purchaſe with an overwhelming corruption? Is that a conſtitutional Peerage which exiſts but by its proprietorſhip and ſale of the national repreſentation? Is that a conſtitutional Repreſentation which is ſold by the Lords and bought by the Crown? If ſo, our conſtitution is but a name; and we may label the Lion, the Tygers, and Jackalls, with King, Lords and Commons, and, proſtrating ourſelves at their dens, beſmeared with the blood and blanched with the bones of our fellows, hold out our necks to be ſlaughtered. They muſt be more than Bœotians, who change the names when they deſtroy the eſſence of liberty. Shall thoſe who deſtroy the conſtitution as King, Lords and Commons, find ſanction for crime in their titles? Names go for nothing when the conſtitution is the ſtake to be fought for. It is this which not only *juſtifies* reſiſtance, but makes it an abſolute duty. On this head, the late Camden has ſpoken out boldly: "King, Lords and Com-
"mons, are grand and ſounding names; but King, Lords
"and Commons, may become tyrants as well as others.
"Tyranny in one or more is the ſame.——It is as lawful
"to reſiſt the tyranny of *many* as of *one*. This has been

"a doctrine

" a doctrine known and acted on for ages.* When the fa-
" mous Selden was asked by what statute resistance to tyran-
" ny could be justified, his reply was, ' It was to be justified
" by

* I quote the following from the works of Dr. John Ponet, Bishop of Rochester, and afterwards of Winchester, to shew that even on the authority of a Bishop, this is not a Doctrine new to the Constitution.

" Kinges, Princes and Governours have their autoritie of the people, as all lawes, usages and policies doo declare and testifie.

" For in some places and countries they have more and greater autoritie, in some places lesse. And in some the people have not given this autoritie to any other, but reteine and exercise it themselves. And is any man so unreasonable to denie, that the hole maie doo as muche as they have permitted one member to doo? or those that have appointed an office upon trust, have not autoritie upon juste occasion (as the abuse of it) to take awaie that they gave? All lawes doo agree that men mai revoke their proxies and lettres of Attournaie, *whan it pleaseth them*, much more *whan they see their proctours and Attournaies abuse it.*

" But now to prove the latter part of this question affirmatively, that it is lawful to kill a tiranne: ther is no man can denie, but that the Ethnikes (albeit the had not the right and perfite true knowlage of God) were endued with the knowlage of the lawe of nature.

" For it is no private lawe to a fewe or certain people, but common to all: not written in bokes, but graffed in the heartes of men: not made by man, but ordained by God: which we have not learned receaved or redde, but have taken, sucked, and drawned out of nature: whereunto we are not taught, but made: not instructed, but seasoned: and (as St. Paule saieth) mannes consience bearing witnesse of it.

" This lawe testifieth to every mannes consience, that it is naturall to cutte awaie an incurable membre, which (being suffred) wold destroie the hole body.

" Kinges, Princes and other Governours, albeit they are the heddes of a politike body, yet they are not the hole body. And though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres: *nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people.*

" Upon this law of nature, and to conserve the hole body the Ethnikes thought it reasonable, and made it lawfull, by their positive lawe, for every man to kill a tiranne. And to encourage men to enterprise to kill a tiranne, they esteemed the dede to be worthy so great a rewarde, that they thought him worthy perdone that killed a tiranne, though he had killed his owne naturall father before. And besides this, whan they sawe, that tirannes used to have their bodies defended with great garisones, and gardes of forain people,

" by the cuſtom of England, which is part of the law of " the land.' And I will affirm, my Lords, not only as a " Stateſman, Politician and Philoſopher, but as a Common " Lawyer, that whenever oppreſſion begins, reſiſtance be- " comes lawful and right." Has not oppreſſion begun? Has not reſiſtance become lawful and right? Has not the moſt ſacred, impreſcriptible and conſtitutional right of Repreſentation been uſurped, bought and ſold? Is this no

ple, or kept themſelves in ſtrong holdes and ſceret chambres, ſo as none without great haſarde and peril might come neare them: they propouned great rewardes to him that ſhould deſtroie a tiranne. Nother thought they rewardes or giftes to be a ſufficient recompenſe for ſo vertuous an acte, but they uſed alſo to make the image of him that killed a tiranne in braſſe: and to ſet it up in the moſt ſolemne place of the citie, for a perpetual memorie of the acte; the commendation of the doer, and the encouragement of others to doo the like. They dedicated to his praiſe and honour ſongs and verſes, and wolde have them taken of men as Goddes worthy immortalitie.

" Whereof came the name of Nobilitie, or how were thoſe that he called heroical or noble perſonages divided from others, and had in ſuche honour and reverence, ſeing all men came of one man and one woman. Was it for their luſtie hawking and hunting? for their nimble diceing and conning carding? for their fine ſinging and daunceing; for their open bragging and ſwearing? for their falſe fliering and flattering? for their ſubtil piking and ſtealing? for their cruel polling and pilling? for their mercileſs man murthering? for their unnatural deſtroieing of their natural countrymen, and traiterous betraeing of their countrey? No, no, ther was no ſuche thing. The reſpect only of their vertue and love to their countrey brought them thereto. Becauſe they revenged and delivered the oppreſſed People out of the handes of their governours, who abuſed their autoritie, and wickedly, cruelly and tirannouſly ruled over them: the People of a grate and thankful minde gave them that eſtimacion and honour. Of this kind of Nobilitie was Hercules, Theſeus and ſuch like."

In anſwer to the queſtion, " Why Chriſten men never made expreſſe poſitive lawe of the kinde of puniſhment of tirannes," he ſays:

" But I beſeche thee, what nedeth to make one general lawe to puniſhe bi one name a great many offenses, when the lawe is allready made for the puniſhment of everi one of them particularly. If a prince robbe and ſpoile his ſubjectes, it is thefte, and as a thefe he ought to be puniſhed. If he kill and murther them contrary or without the lawes of his countreye, it is murther, and as a murtherour he ought to be puniſhed. If he go about to betray his countrey, and to bring the people under a foreign power: he is a traitour, and as a traitour he ought to ſuffre.

oppreſſion? Have not your markets, your home trade, your foreign trade, your agricultural produce, been ſacrificed by corruption and treaſon? and is this no oppreſſion? Are not the People of Ireland robbed of every means their Country furniſhes of acquiring national wealth; and are they not rapaciouſly plundered of the little their induſtry gathers, to pay for the treaſon that robs them? ARE THESE NO OPPRESSION? Have not laws* been created, by which the firſt principles of Chriſtianity, and the pureſt morality, are puniſhed with death? Is this no oppreſſion? Are years in the dungeon† without charge or trial—are the lingering and painful deaths of the baſtile or the gallows, upon the oath of one man, who muſt acknowledge his perjury before he can be an evidence, no oppreſſion? Is lawleſs, indiſcriminate maſſacre—is burning houſes and property—is the torture to extort confeſſion—ARE THESE NO OPPRESSION? If to deny that RESISTANCE becomes lawful and right when OPPRESSION begins—if to deny that to call in FOREIGN AID becomes lawful and right when OPPRESSION begins, is to ſap the foundation on which the throne has been placed, and to annul every act ſince the depoſition of Stuart—is *oppreſſion* a word without meaning? or, where ſhall we look for its true definition? I will take it from the works of John Locke, who wrote by expreſs deſire of James's ſucceſſor. His writings received the approbation of the Legiſlature, and of the ſound part of the nation who made the Revolution; and they have been ever ſince acknowledged, on all ſides, to contain the true principles of our conſtitutional code. His words are,* "Though, in a conſtituted com-

* Called the Inſurrection Acts.

† Neilſon, Haſlet, Ruſſel, and many others, all men of the moſt exemplary characters, are now in the ſeventeenth month of cloſe impriſonment without any charge, during which time, their health is gone, their fortunes ruined; though when impriſoned they were moſt of them men in conſiderable buſineſs, making rapid fortunes: but their real *crime* is, they were Proprietors of that Patriotic Print, the Northern Star, of beloved memory. The property in this Paper alone was worth 5000l. at the time it was deſtroyed by the preſent Deſpotiſm.

* Locke on Civil Government, Chap. xiii. § 149.

"monwealth,

" monwealth, ſtanding upon its own baſis, and acting ac-
" cording to its own nature, that is, acting for the pre-
" ſervation of the community, there can be but one ſu-
" preme power, which is the Legiſlative, to which all the
" reſt are and muſt be ſubordinate; yet the Legiſlative
" being only a FIDUCIARY POWER to act for *certain* ends
" —there remains ſtill *in the people a* SUPREME POWER
" *to remove or alter the legiſlative*, when they find the legiſ-
" lative *act contrary to the truſt repoſed in them:* for all
" power given with truſt for the attaining an end, being
" limited by that end, whenever that end is manifeſtly
" neglected or oppoſed, THE TRUST MUST NECESSARILY
" BE FORFEITED, and the power devolve into the hands
" of thoſe that gave it, *who may place it anew* where they
" ſhall think beſt for their ſafety and ſecurity. And thus
" the community perpetually *retains a ſupreme power* of
" ſaving themſelves from the attempts and deſigns of any
" body, EVEN OF THEIR LEGISLATORS, whenever they
" ſhall be ſo *fooliſh*, or ſo *wicked*, as to lay and carry on
" deſigns againſt the *liberties* and *properties* of the ſubject."
And that no doubt ſhould remain of what theſe deſigns againſt the liberties and properties of the ſubject, by which the truſt is forfeited, means, he defines them:* " *He acts*
" *contrary to his truſt* when he either employs the *force*,
" *treaſure*, and *offices* of the ſociety, to CORRUPT the
" REPRESENTATIVES, and *gain them to his purpoſes.*
" What is this but to *cut up the government by the roots, and*
" *poiſon the very fountain of public ſecurity?* for the People,
" having reſerved to themſelves the choice of their repre-
" ſentatives, as the fence to their properties (and, he
" ſhould have added, their liberties), could do it for no
" other end, but that they might always be freely choſen,
" and, ſo choſen, freely act and adviſe, as the neceſſity
" of the commonwealth and the public good ſhould, upon
" examination and mature debate, be judged to require.
" This thoſe who give their votes *before they hear the de-*
" *bate*, and have weighed the reaſons on all ſides, *are not*
" *capable of doing*. To *prepare* ſuch an aſſembly as *this*, and

* Chap. xix. § 222.

" endeavour

" endeavour to *ſet up the declared abettors of his own will* " for the TRUE REPRESENTATIVES of the People and " the *lawmakers* of the ſociety, is certainly *as great a breach* " *of truſt*, and as *perfect a declaration of a deſign to ſubvert* " *the government*, as IS POSSIBLE TO BE MET WITH. To " which if one ſhall add *rewards* and *puniſhments viſibly* " *employed to the ſame end*, and all the *arts* of *perverted law* " made uſe of to *take off and deſtroy all that ſtand in the way* " *of ſuch a deſign*, and will not comply and conſent to " betray the liberties of their country, *it will be paſt doubt* " *what is doing*. What power they ought to have in the " ſociety, who *thus* employ it *contrary to the truſt* which " went along with it in its firſt inſtitution, is eaſy to deter- " mine; and one cannot but ſee, that he who has once " attempted any ſuch thing as this, *cannot any longer be* " *truſted*." " * The people have no other remedy in this, " as in all other caſes where they have no *judge on earth*, " than an *appeal to Heaven*." And, as if he had foreſeen that tyranny and judicial villany would attempt to convert truth and juſtice into libel, ſedition, rebellion and treaſon, he ſays, " † If they who ſay that this hypotheſis lays a " foundation for rebellion, mean that it may occaſion " civil wars or inteſtine broils, to tell the people they are " abſolved from obedience when illegal attempts are made " upon their liberties or properties—they may as well ſay, " upon the ſame ground, that honeſt men may not op- " poſe robbers or pirates, becauſe this may occaſion diſ- " order or bloodſhed." I deſire it may be conſidered, " what kind of a peace there will be in the world, which " is to be maintained only for the benefit of robbers and " oppreſſors." " Polyphemus's den gives us a perfect " pattern of ſuch a peace, and ſuch a government, where- " in Ulyſſes and his companions had nothing to do but " quietly to ſuffer themſelves to be devoured."

If this champion of theſe revolutionary principles upon which alone the preſent government has any claim to its powers, has expreſsly declared, that corrupting the repreſentation is that crime which defines where oppreſſion be-

* Chap. xiv. § 168. † Chap. xix. § 228.

gins,

gins, where the truſt is forfeited, and where an appeal to Heaven is juſtified—ſhall the uſurpation of that repreſentation, and thouſands of the moſt atrocious outrages and tyrannies by which it is ſupported, act as minus quantities, by which thoſe who exerciſe the executive and legiſlative ſhall ſtand acquitted of the puniſhment due to corrupting the national repreſentatives only? If a law of their own making ſhall indemnify tyranny, what tyrant can ever be puniſhed? But what power on earth ſhall dare to make laws to condemn a whole people? If I am aſked to define what I mean by the People, I anſwer, that decided majority which leaves no doubt of its title. And if I am aſked what I mean by the tyrant, I anſwer, *look to his deeds.* But in Ireland they cannot be miſtaken. If a decided majority of the people have not united againſt uſurpation, corruption and tyranny, the whole force of Iriſh Government, and the whole force of Great Britain, would have been more than ſufficient long ſince to ſubdue them; and if any leſs than the People have united, neceſſity could not have been ſet up to juſtify the ſyſtem of tyranny, maſſacre and torture which has been adopted. Away with the charge of a whole people rebelling! The minor part are the rebels: a decided majority can never rebel: uſurpers and tyrants only can commit rebellion. If not, what are the liberties of Europe but rebellion? What are the liberties of Switzerland but rebellion againſt the tyranny of Auſtria formerly, and againſt their own petty tyrants at preſent? What are the liberties of Holland but rebellion, aided by foreign aſſiſtance, againſt the bigotry and tyranny of Spain formerly, and againſt a Stadtholder now? What are the liberties of England but rebellion, aided by foreign aſſiſtance, againſt the bigotry and tyranny of Stuart? What are the liberties of America but rebellion, aided by France, againſt the tyranny of Britain? And what are the liberties of France but rebellion againſt the deſpotiſm of the Capets, and againſt the tyranny of every other deſpot in Europe? Although the annals of mankind afford no inſtance of tyrants reſtoring the liberties they had uſurped as long as they had power to hold them, or of a people regaining

their

their freedom *but by this ſort of rebellion*, I know ſuch hiſtorical facts are ill reliſhed by what are called MODERATE MEN.

As this is a title which the ſelfiſh and daſtards aſſume, to excuſe their abandonment of the liberties of their country at this extraordinary criſis, we ſhould examine their claim to ſo honourable an appellation.

That moderation in indulging the appetite is the guard againſt debauchery and gluttony, which debaſe and brutalize man—that moderation in the enjoyment of the ſex is the guard againſt debility of body and mind—that moderation in our expences lays the only foundation for generoſity, independence and charity—in a word, that moderation is the baſis of virtue and magnanimity, I moſt freely ſubſcribe to. But what has this moderation to do with the moderation with which we adopt the principles of political ſcience? If it cannot be denied that politics* are governed by principles as fixed as any other ſcience whatever—if the hiſtory of human ſociety furniſhes uniform teſtimony that monopoly of property creates monopoly of power, that monopoly of power occaſions the abuſe of it—if theſe principles are as fixed and invariable in politics, as that lead deſcends by the principle of gravitation, or that by the principles of mathematics the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles,—how does the term moderation apply to the adoption of principles in one ſcience, any more than in the other? If it is the height of abſurdity to ſpeak of a moderate mathematician, or to boaſt of the moderation with which one comprehends and applies the principles of mathematics, is it leſs abſurd to make a merit of the moderation with which one adopts the principles of political ſcience? Examine theſe moderate politicians; you will find that they are men who draw a circle round every monopoly, abuſe, and privilege, in which they themſelves are concerned;

* When I ſpeak of politics, I mean that firſt of all ſciences which conſiſts in framing laws according to the fixed principles of human nature; all elſe is faction; and in a conteſt between party and party, the more moderate they are, the leſs miſchievous.

but

but that, with wonderful liberality, they will readily abandon every other to reformation. They are men that, while power is in other hands than their own, can ſee no ſalvation but in an alteration of ſyſtem; but the inſtant they are in office themſelves, they diſplay their moderation in leaving the ſyſtem untouched. They are men who have made themſelves ſlaves to the meaneſt and moſt contemptible wants, deſires and habits; miſerable, if their bed is too hard or too ſoft, their pillow too high or too low, their dinner too much done or too little, regardleſs of how many millions corruption and tyranny have left without beds to lye on, or food to allay the gnawings of ravenous famine. They are men in whom the feelings of ſympathy, that happy corrective of ſelfiſhneſs, is wholly extinct; that ſympathy which, forgetting the individual being, throws fortune and life into the common ſtock of ſuffering humanity, and glorioufly ventures his all in the cauſe of his fellows. To this your moderate man is wholly a ſtranger. He wraps himſelf up in the mantle of egotiſm, and, taking his poſt on that neutral ſtate where Solon ſo juſtly has placed the moſt criminal point, he plumes himſelf on ſeeing ſo many lower in the depths of corruption, but forgets the millions above him on the ſummit of virtue: and whilſt he boaſts that he has not as many vices as others, he ſtands convicted of the greateſt of any, the not having one ſingle virtue.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

If I have ſucceeded in demonſtrating that ſelf-intereſt is the governing principle in politics, as well as of all human action; that we are the creatures of our wants and deſires; that thoſe who poſſeſs the means of ſatisfying thoſe wants and deſires, muſt poſſeſs the means of influencing the actions, and commanding the ſervices of mankind; that thoſe who poſſeſs property are poſſeſſed of thoſe means, and that thoſe laws * which monopolize property inveſt a few with the power of dictating to the many, which is invariably abuſed, and a neceſſity on the part of the many of yielding to ſuch a dictation; I truſt I have impreſſed on the minds of my countrymen, that all Reform which would leave the monopoly of property untouched, muſt prove inſufficient, and that the only reformation by which their liberties can be ſecured is that which deſtroys the dependence, and eſtabliſhes the independence of the WHOLE CONSTITUENT BODY. I truſt I have convinced them, that the independence of the Conſtituent Body is the guardian of liberty, and not the diſcretion or virtue of thoſe they elect; and that the abolition of all laws for the monopoly of property

* Was it not that the Miniſter and his accomplices have exerted themſelves with ſuch violence to deſtroy the preſent connection between the two Countries as to leave no doubt of their ſucceſs, I ſhould have ſhewn, that in addition to the reaſons I have already advanced to prove the neceſſity of aboliſhing the laws of primogeniture, entails and ſettlements, there were reaſons which rendered it peculiarly expedient in Ireland, firſt, that it was the beſt means of ſecuring the independence and fidelity of Repreſentatives, it was peculiarly incumbent on Ireland to adopt it, from her Legiſlature having to guard not only againſt the corruption incident to all Legiſlatures, but to guard againſt the corruption which ſo powerful a nation as Great Britain ever has, and ever will employ to bribe the Iriſh Legiſlature to ſell the Rights of Ireland.

is the ſole means by which it can be eſtabliſhed. Liberty cannot ſtand but on the broad, firm and perfect baſis of Univerſal Repreſentation. Be the ſuperſtructure what it may, if you will have Liberty, you muſt firſt eſtabliſh this foundation for it to reſt on; and that you may have this perfect repreſentative baſis, you muſt look to the conſtituted People of whom it is formed; you muſt aboliſh all monopolies, which otherwiſe would deſtroy your independence. Thus you will reform YOURSELVES; *this is the true Reformation.* Having once re-eſtabliſhed your liberties on the baſis of perfect repreſentation, which is the baſis of your conſtitution, you will bring to the teſt what parts of the conſtitution can ſtand, and what parts the great revolution in property and in mind has excluded. If hereditary powers are compatible with a perfect repreſentation in the preſent ſtate of the European world, they will ſtand; if not, if they cannot exiſt but at the expence of the Conſtitution and Liberty of the People, they muſt go to deſtruction. Be that as it may, DO YOUR PART; and truſt me, my fellow-citizens, that when you have eſtabliſhed a perfect repreſentation, it will purify every other part of your conſtitution. Whatever is corrupt, it will deſtroy; and whatever defects it cannot correct, will be but as ſpots on the diſk of the ſun, which will not obſcure its luſtre, nor prevent it from diffuſing heat and light equally to all deſcriptions who live under its ſphere. If the hereditary powers have been hurled from their own places in the conſtitution by the vaſt revolution in property and in mind which the inventions of the Compaſs and the Preſs have occaſioned, what right have they to ſeize upon your part, or to imagine that you will tamely reſign it? If the hiſtory of the conſtitution bears teſtimony in every page, that the liberty it contains was created by the repreſentative part—nay, if the laſt hundred years afford undeniable proof that the ſyſtem of corruption and of proprietorſhip of the National Repreſentation is a ſuicide, and that the laſt five years ſtamp the guilt on the Miniſter and his accomplices of having foreſtalled the blow—you muſt be convinced, that to abandon your part of the conſtitution, would be to abandon the whole conſtitution to utter deſtruction.

deſtruction. Be but true to yourſelves, and you need not look out of the conſtitution for the moſt perfect liberty Man can poſſeſs. Examine the conſtitutions which have been adopted in America, in France, and in Italy, and you will ſee that they have been taken from your's; you will find that they have ſelected thoſe parts which are compatible with this great revolution of Europe, and that they have rejected thoſe parts which the great revolution has rendered incapable of being ſupported. Are not Repreſentative Democracy, with its organizations and frequent elections, and the Trial by Jury, the life and ſoul of their conſtitutions? and are they not ſo, alſo, of your's? The glorious pre-eminence of having preſerved the principles of Liberty, when they were extinct in all other nations, belongs to your conſtitution, and ſhould not be abandoned. Let us not depreciate the whole conſtitution, becauſe time, and the wickedneſs and folly of men, have deſtroyed ſome of its parts; let us ever remember that it has been the depoſitory of the ſacred embers of Liberty, that ſacred fire which was taken to the woods of America, and tranſported from thence into France, to illuminate the reſt of the world.

The Miniſter and his accomplices will tell you that I am exciting you to revolution. I anſwer, the revolution has been made already by the inflexible progreſs and order of human nature. They will tell you that they are endeavouring to ſave you from the horrors of a revolution. I anſwer, there is nothing horrible in the revolution; it is the means which have been employed to obſtruct and retard it which have cauſed all the horrors. Compare the revolution with the means which have been adopted to ſtop it, and you will ſee where the horrors come from. Behold how the invention of the Mariner's Compaſs has encouraged the induſtry of nations, by enabling the moſt diſtant to exchange their ſurplus produce, one with the other. See how the ſame quantity of labour produces ſo much more of the neceſſaries and conveniences of life now, than before thoſe machines and engines for the abridgement of labour were known, or the preſent vaſt diviſion of labour had

had been eſtabliſhed. See what numerous ingenious claſſes have been introduced into ſociety, and how the condition of the ancient claſſes have been improved. Behold the invention of the Preſs, by which ſo much knowledge has been diffuſed and perpetuated; that happy invention by which the ſoul of Genius is infuſed into millions with ſuch rapturous delight. Theſe are the materials which compoſe this vaſt revolution; but where are its horrors? For theſe you muſt look to the means which the Miniſter and his accomplices have employed to arreſt it. Is there one of the bleſſings this great revolution has conferred on mankind that they have not blaſted? Look to the war they have engaged in, with all its deſtruction and horrors: Look to the European blood they have ſhed, and to the European wealth they have laviſhed: Look to the maſſacres, the forgery, the civil diſcord and famine, they have paid ſuch ſums for exciting: Look to the corruption, the bankruptcy, and requiſitions, of which they have been the agents and authors: Look to the horrid catalogue of murders, of burnings, of dungeons, of tortures, together with the thouſand perſecutions and tyrannies they have employed, againſt perſons, opinions, and property: And, to crown all, behold them reducing the induſtrious to beggary and famine, by ſquandering the ſacred fund which once furniſhed their wages; and enliſting the part they had ruined, they have employed them to ſubdue the entire. Contraſt this revolution with thoſe means which have been employed to oppoſe it: you will ſee the incalculable bleſſings which have ariſen from commerce, from induſtry, and from increaſed knowledge, on one ſide; and the innumerable curſes which ariſe from corruption, uſurpation and tyranny, on the other; you will ſee all thoſe advantages which lead to the perfection, the independence and freedom of mankind, on one ſide; you will ſee the moſt diabolical means exerted at every point, and in every direction, to corrupt, to enſlave and debaſe mankind, on the other. When the Miniſter and his accomplices talk of the horrors of a revolution, let them come forward and clear themſelves of all thoſe horrors in France which I have traced to their

their doors: Let them clear themſelves of thoſe horrors our Country has witneſſed from one end to the other: Let them tell you what horrors can be greater than thoſe they have acted.

Beloved Countrymen! be not diſheartened—Look back on the courſe theſe tyrants have run. You have beheld the organized armies of deſpotiſm advance againſt France; and you have ſeen them annihilated by the diſorganized armies of Liberty, whilſt maſſacre, and diſcord, and famine, and treaſon, tore at her vitals. Victorious or vanquiſhed, Liberty glides with the tide which has ſet in in her favour; victorious or vanquiſhed, Deſpotiſm cannot make head againſt the torrent which has ſet in againſt her.

That with an empty exchequer, exhauſted reſources, and a tornado ready to burſt on their heads, the gentry of Ireland ſhould have ſet the example of lawleſs atrocities—that with palaces compared to the huts they deſtroyed, they ſhould apply the torch to the hovel—that with wives, daughters, and infants, they ſhould tear away thouſands of fathers without trial or charge, and innocents to beggary, brutality, and famine—that with feelings to ſuffer, with lives to loſe, and property to forfeit, they ſhould halloo an excited military to torture and murder their fellow-citizens—ſpring from motives, I thank God, I have neither head nor heart to conceive. But let me conjure you, my brave Countrymen, who have ſtood between deſpotiſm and the liberties of your country, that you will ſtand between the tranſports of national fury and national honour. I conjure you to bear in mind that our Women, deprived of political rights, can have no political crimes to account for; that the nobleſt privileges of man is to be their protector, and the laſt act of human depravity is to oppreſs them. On this head a gallant nation needs no admonitions: you will put down your oppreſſors without diſgracing yourſelves; and you will ſet up the liberties of your country in a manner that ſhall cover you with glory. Meaſure not your vengeance by the crimes of the guilty, but meaſure it by what is becoming of thoſe who inflict it. Rob not Juſtice

of

of her triumph; but, ſeated in all the majeſty of Order, and in all the lovelineſs of Mercy, let her puniſh where ſhe muſt—let her ſave where ſhe can!

ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

February 1, 1798.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

TO THE

FREE ELECTORS

OF THE

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

IN offering myſelf a candidate to repreſent you, my fellow-citizens, in parliament, as it is conſtituted at preſent, be aſſured, although I ſhould ſtand alone, no conſideration ſhould prevent me from bringing forward thoſe meaſures, the rights and intereſts of Ireland ſo loudly demand.

Men who ſeek public truſt to betray it, may acquire the ſupport of conſtituents as corrupt as themſelves, by profeſſing attachment to a conſtitution, whoſe deformities they have multiplied, but whoſe beauties they have effaced. If the monopoly of the whole national repreſentation, by a few individuals, forms the baſis of *their* conſtitution, and if the moſt profligate ſale of that repreſentation to the agent of another country, be the ſole means by which it is moved and maintained, ſo far from ſeeking your confidence, by promiſing to ſupport it, *I pledge myſelf to you and my country, to uſe every means in my power to effect its deſtruction.* Let other men boaſt of the unanimity with which this war has been ſupported, let them ſtill continue the deluſion, that it has been undertaken in defence of property, of religion, of order, and of law, all, all has belied the aſſertion; can any thing be more falſe than to call that a war in defence of property, in which the ſacred fund, which ſhould pay the wages of induſtry, has been ſquandered with unexampled profuſion? Can any thing be more blaſphemous than to call that a war in defence of religion, which conſigns whole nations to famine, and deluges the world with blood? Can any thing be more inſolent than to call that a war in defence of order, in which ſums incalculable have been laviſhed to diſſeminate anarchy and civil diſcord throughout one of the faireſt portions of the globe? Or, can any thing be more galling to the feelings of a nation, than to hear that called a war in defence of law, when laws ſought by an unanimous people have been rejected, when laws that ſecured the perſons and opinions of the citizen have been ſuſpended, and when laws fit for the meridian of Turkey or of Japan have been paſſed? No, my countrymen, never will I ſeek your confidence by ſupporting a war that has been undertaken for the deſtruction of liberty abroad, and for the preſervation of a ſyſtem of corruption at home; for this the blood and wealth of nations have been laviſhed; for this attempts have been made to arm Iriſhman againſt Iriſhman, and the genius of that fiend which ſupplied the monſter of France with pretences for maſſacre, after deſolating La Vendee, has made its appearance in Armagh, but thanks be to GOD it has been defeated; thanks be to GOD that the love of liberty and of the country have prevailed, and that Proteſtant and Catholic are alike convinced, that—ON THE UNION OF BOTH, DEPEND THE SALVATION OF ALL. Thoſe who ſell the rights of their country, will call this by the name of that treaſon they live by committing—but if to promote the UNION OF IRISHMEN be treaſon, and if to place the liberties of my country on its TRUE REPUBLICAN BASIS be trea-

ſon, then do I glory in being a traitor—it is a treaſon I will ſeal with my blood, and that I hope to have engraved on my tomb. I know that an attempt on the part of the Executive to ſubvert our liberties, has ſanctioned ONE REVOLUTION, and I feel that if the legiſlative becoming more corrupt than the executive, ſhould join in attempting a ſimilar ſubverſion, not only by force, but by the more deadly corruption, they will have ſanctioned ANOTHER—and in the language of a man whoſe head and whoſe heart would have ſaved his country, reſiſtance will be no longer a matter of *morality* but of *prudence*. Convinced then, that liberty muſt annihilate corruption, or corruption muſt annihilate it, I believe that the awful moment approaches when the conteſt muſt be decided in the European world, whether liberty muſt ſink beneath a heap of abuſes, accumulated in ages of ignorance, barbariſm, and fraud, to leave us in miſery and darkneſs again, or whether the triumphant, ſhe ſhall raiſe the oppreſſor and the oppreſſed, from the degraded conditions of tyrant and vaſſal, to fill the proud ſtations of man!—If by theſe opinions and principles, I can gain your confidence, by no dereliction ſhall it ever be loſt, by your faithful friend and fellow-citizen.

Saturday, October 22, 1796. ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

TO THE

FREE ELECTORS

OF THE

COUNTY OF ANTRIM.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

THE POST OFFICE is ſo immediately dependent on the Government, that any anonymous production iſſuing from thence, muſt be looked on as coming from the Adminiſtration itſelf; in this light I have viewed the anonymous paper which has been ſo induſtrioufly diſtributed through the Poſt Offices of the North avowedly to deprive me of whatever ſhare of your confidence I might have gained, and in this light I have given it an anſwer. Had I treated it with ſilent contempt, I ſhould have hoped that its coming from an Adminiſtration which had ſo deſervedly forfeited the confidence of every Iriſhman, who valued the liberties of his Country, would have inſured me from ſuffering, in your eſtimation, from the falſehood and calumny with which it abounds; but my reſpect for thoſe invaluable Cenſors, the Preſs and the Public Opinion, the conſcious integrity of my own heart, and the moſt perfect reliance on the virtue of the cauſe I eſpouſe, prompt me to ſeize any occaſion which affords an opportunity of vindicating it or myſelf from the aſperſions of an Adminiſtration, whoſe heavieſt charge, in their wretched production, is, that at any time of my life I had been the advocate of them or their meaſures. As the whole of the work is one continued tiſſue of miſrepreſentation and falſhood, a plain recital of facts will be the beſt means of giving it a full refutation. After the queſtion of Regency, that memorable diſplay of the infamy and principles of the factions of Ireland, ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them were forced into IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PATRIOTISM, by being ſtript of the wages of their proſtitution, I accepted a ſeat from my uncle Lord Longueville, in the

the chimerical hope that this crash between the factions and the Government, might be improved to the advantage of Ireland; but experience soon convinced me, that nothing short of the establishment of a NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, A TOTAL ANNIHILATION OF THE FACTIONS, AND THEIR USURPATIONS, AND AN ENTIRE ABOLITION OF RELIGIOUS DISTINCTIONS, could restore to my country those Rights, and that Liberty which had been so long a subject of traffic, under a regular organized system of treason, and acting up to this conviction from the day I accepted the seat from Lord Longueville, to the day I resigned it, I earnestly entreated him to declare for a Reform of Parliament, and for the freedom of my Catholic countrymen. The thanks which were given me by the delegates of the Catholics of Ireland, for my defence of them and their cause, so early as 1791, and the vote which I gave for their total emancipation, against Lord Longueville and the Government, in the beginning of 1793, gives the lie to the assertion of Administration, that I was not the advocate of Catholic Freedom, until my having spoke on that subject in 1795, and so wholly is it unfounded in truth, that I have exerted myself in the defence of the liberties of my country, because the Government refused me a Commissioner's place, that although Lord Longueville repeatedly pressed me to let him procure me a Commissioner's place, I as often refused it, assuring him that it was contrary to my principles to accept the money of my impoverished countrymen, for the detestable treason of betraying their Rights, their Industry, their Manufactures and Commerce: that for the bribe of a British pander, I should basely contribute to aggrandize HIS country, at the expence of every thing dear to MY OWN; whilst so far from bartering my principles to better my fortune, that though Lord Longueville pressed me to accept large sums of his own money, I declined them; and it is notorious he has since disinherited me for the open avowal of my political sentiments on the Catholic Question. Being forced, in my own vindication, to speak of myself, I will leave you, my fellow-citizens, to judge of an Administration, that by falshood and calumny, have attempted to widen a breach between me and connexions that were but too widely extended before; yet whilst they have given me an opportunity of proving to you that no consideration could induce me to abandon my principles, they shall never succeed in making me utter one unkind expression of a man whose wishes to promote me in life, have left a grateful remembrance their malice shall never efface. Abandoned Administration! who have trampled on the liberties of my country, do you presume to accuse me of dissuading my countrymen from arming to oppose an invasion, which YOUR'S AND YOUR ACCOMPLICES CRIMES HAVE PROVOKED? Is it that the unalienable rights of free-born men to make their laws by delegates of their choice, should be bartered and sold by usurpers and traitors, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it that our markets, our manufactures, and commerce, should be sold to that nation which appoints our Government, and distributes our patronage, that I should persuade them to arm; Is it to support the GUNPOWDER-BILL, which deprives them of arms, or the CONVENTION-BILL, which aims at perpetuating the usurpation of rights, by proscribing the only obvious and orderly means to regain them, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to support the suspension of the HABEAS CORPUS-BILL, which has destroyed the bulwark of liberty by withholding the TRIAL BY JURY, that I should persuade them to arm? Is it to rivet the bolts, or to guard the dungeons of their fellow-citizens, who, torn from their homes and their families by Administration, vainly demand that TRIAL BY JURY, which by proving their

innocence muſt eſtabliſh its guilt, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Is it that a vile pander of national honour and legiſlative duty ſhould be inveſted with uncontrouled power over the opinions and perſons of an injured, a gallant, and generous people, that I ſhould perſuade them to arm? or to crown all, is it under the auſpices of the indemnified CARHAMPTON, I ſhould perſuade them to arm? Go, Impotents, to the Catholics, whoſe elevated hopes of all glorious freedom, you have been appointed to tauntingly blaſt, and if they ſhould charge you with the crimes of your miſſion, although you cannot plead the having raiſed them to equal rights with their fellow citizens, you can at leaſt boaſt that you have levelled thoſe rights to the ſtandard of Catholic thraldom. Hence, then, contemptible Adminiſtration, from thoſe you have inſulted and levelled, to thoſe you have raiſed; go to the monopoliſts of the repreſentation of Ireland, and aſk them to arm; go to thoſe whom the continuance of the ſyſtem of corruption enables to live in affluence at the expence of that poverty and miſery their treaſon has cauſed, and aſk them to arm; go to thoſe huſſars of fees and exactions in the revenue, whoſe regular pay bears no proportion to their pillage and plunder, and command them to arm; go to attorneys and lawyers, who live by villainy, chicane and fraud, under a ſyſtem of complexity, fineſſe and fiction, at the expence and ruin of thoſe who are forced to employ them, and tell them they ought to arm; go to thoſe ſwarms of petty tyrants, perjured grand-jury jobbers, army contractors, tythe proctors and land ſharks, and tell them how neceſſary it is for them to be armed; go to the ESTABLISHED clergy, who pocket thoſe monſtrous funds for INSTRUCTING nine-tenths of the nation, which ſhould provide decent eſtabliſhments for three ſuch countries as Ireland, and tell them to preach to the nine-tenths who are excluded from this GLORIOUS half of the conſtitution, to arm in its defence, or aſk them to blow the expiring embers of religious diſſention, and I will leave it to the inhabitants of Armagh, at length recovering from deluſion, to judge of their zeal in this chriſtian-like duty. Theſe factions, and Adminiſtration, are your natural allies; theſe are your ſtrength; on theſe you may reckon, and although as devoted to ſyſtems which ſhould be aboliſhed, as apoſtates to national rights and national honor they count but too high; thank Heaven they are as inſignificant in numbers as in ſtrength to thoſe that are ſound. Although the old Volunteers have been diſcouraged, becauſe they boldly threw off the open avowed dominion of Britain, and that theſe Yeomen corps have been raiſed to ſupport the concealed deadly influence ſhe has gained by corruption and treaſon; although the old Volunteers have been rejected becauſe they extended the rights and liberties of their country, and that theſe corps have been ſet up to ſupport laws ſubverſive of both; yet when the ſyſtematic ſcheme of the Britiſh Miniſter, and of thoſe vermin that have neſtled about the throne, to frame ſome new modelled deſpotiſm on the ruins of freedom, by the erecting of barracks, thoſe bills that have been paſſed year after year, the late contempt of that only privilege of the Commons which was left them, the granting of money, and the correſpondent conduct of their creatures in this country ſhall have been developed to that degree which would make reſiſtance an indiſpenſable duty, from my ſoul I believe that they would find themſelves widely miſtaken in the ſupport they will meet from many of theſe corps they have raiſed. Are the people of Ireland ſo weak as to convert a threatened invaſion from France into an expiation of the injuſtice, the crimes and oppreſſion by which the temptation to make it was cauſed, or ſhall an invaſion from France act like magic in changing the preſent ardent affection

fection of the people of Ireland for liberty, into an unbounded diſplay of loyalty to a ſyſtem of corruption and treaſon, by which the moſt happily gifted nation on earth has been made to contain more miſery than any country in the creation? Away with deluſion! Are the people of Ireland ſure that the factions and Adminiſtration who ſo earneſtly preſs them to ariſe to repel the invaſion of France, are not INVADERS THEMSELVES? Are we ſure that their maſter and maker, the Miniſter of Britain, has not inveſted them with enormous funds of corruption to which our wretchedneſs has been made to contribute! Are we ſure that theſe funds have not been diſtributed amongſt traitors, in the heart of our iſland, for betraying the induſtry, manufactures and commerce of the people of Ireland, to aggrandize thoſe of Great Britain? Nay, are we not certain that every market in Britain is ſhut againſt every ſpecies of Iriſh induſtry, with the ſolitary exception of linen, whilſt every manufacture of England has free acceſs to every market in Ireland, without any exception whatever? With theſe facts in our view, what Iriſhman can doubt that to ſupport the worſt of invaſions, the invaſion of RIGHTS AND OF COMMERCE, 15,000 Engliſh and Scotch have not been ſent to invade us already? or can we be certain that the ſhambles of Germany have not been reſorted to, to invade us with more? Compare the few troops they left us in the war againſt American freedom, when they had all Europe their foe, with the numbers they have ſent us this war againſt the freedom of France, when they had all Europe their ally; compare the weakneſs of Ireland, divided by religious diſſention WHEN TROOPS WERE SO FEW, with that ſtrength which UNION has given, WHEN TROOPS ARE SO MANY; we cannot but ſee with whom they ſeek to contend. Could French invaders do worſe than eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of pillage and treaſon WITHIN, that they may pillage and plunder WITHOUT? Could they do worſe than reject laws a unanimous people had ſaught, or than paſs thoſe they deteſted; Could they do worſe than commit the perſonal liberty of the people of Ireland to two men without connection or intereſt in the country, without reſponſibility or controul? Could they do worſe than withhold trials from Iriſh citizens caſt into dungeons, to the deſtruction of their health, and the ruin of their property? Could they do worſe than eſtabliſh military Magiſtrates throughout the nation, and indemnify thoſe whoſe unfeeling ſouls had torn hundreds of Iriſh citizens from every endearing connection in life, after depriving their habitations of every privilege due to the reſidence of free-born men, conſigned them to the flames, turning their wives and children to beggary and famine, exiled their huſbands to fight againſt that freedom of which they had robbed them on an element they diſliked, and in a cauſe they abhorred? or could any thing be more alarming to a people who valued their liberties, than the appointment of a man, that could require ſuch an indemnification, to be commander in chief of the army? or to crown all, could any invaders do worſe, that with powers to legiſlate for a limited time, under the form of conſtitutional order, deſtroy the conſtitution itſelf?

In vain ſhall the accomplices of the author of carnage inveigh againſt French fraternity, as long as Ireland exhibits ſo melancholy a picture of the fraternity they have adopted themſelves: I will not compare the ſyſtems of fraternity in Eaſt or Weſt Indies, adopted by England and France, but I will compare the alliance which England had formed with France, ſhe calls her natural enemy, with that ſhe dictates to Ireland, ſhe calls her brother and friend. In her alliance with France, ſhe gave what ſhe got, and reciprocity was the equitable baſis on which it

was

was made; whilſt in her alliance with Ireland, ſhe has taken all ſhe could have aſked or demanded, and ſhe has given us EXCLUSION in grateful return. On this ſcale of Britiſh fraternity, let her hirelings boaſt of Britiſh connection—On this ſcale of Britiſh fraternity, may my country no more be curſed with the friendſhip of Britain! Too long a tyrant, ſhe forgets her dominion has ceaſed—Too long her ſlaves, we muſt ſhew her we are reſolved to be FREE! Had ſhe ceaſed to maintain power by the accurſed means of fomenting religious diſſention; had ſhe ceaſed to ſupport factions, uſurpers and traitors; had ſhe abandoned the falſe illiberal notion, that ſhe gained more by our depreſſion than by our exaltation; had ſhe treated us like brothers and friends, I may, with confidence, affirm, a more effectionate generous ally never exiſted, than ſhe would have found Ireland to her. But if the exiſting fraternity, my fellow-citizens, be the bonds by which you wiſh a connection with Britain, I am not a delegate fit for your choice; for though I ſtood alone in the Commons of Ireland, I would move the repeal of every law which binds us to England, on thoſe or on any ſuch terms. I will neither be conquered by England or France; nor are we any more bound to a diſadvantageous alliance to one than we are to the other; and before England, the factions of Ireland, and the Adminiſtration, I ſpeak it, if it is more the true intereſt of Ireland to form an alliance with France than with England, ſhe is free to adopt it. The jargon of ſtanding or falling with Britain is falſe: in the days that are paſt, we have always been DOWN—it is time we ſhould ſeek to be UP! Rich in a population of 4,000,000 of a healthy intelligent people—rich in her fertile ſoil—rich in her harbours and navigable rivers—rich in her favourable poſition between the old and new worlds—rich in her inſular ſituation, without uſurping dominion over any people upon earth—what intereſt, what cauſe, what pretext can the Adminiſtration of Ireland aſſign for the blood and the wealth they have laviſhed, in a war commenced in deſpotiſm, conducted in ignorance, and ending only by ruin? With 800,000 gallant Citizens, able to arm, is it that the Engliſh and Scotch have more to fight for in Ireland than the Iriſh themſelves, that we cannot be truſted with ſelf-defence? when in the unanointed Republics of Swiſs, they can defy the invaſion of Germany, France, and Sardinia, thoſe warlike and powerful nations by which they are bounded, by that law which OBLIGES every Citizen from 18 to 60 years old, to be provided with arms, why cannot Ireland defy the whole world by a like OBLIGATION? Why has the Gunpowder Act, which diſarms our people, been paſſed? The anſwer is too plain for infatuation to miſtake it. Happy for Ireland if the prime mover of miſchief had borrowed the councils of that great and intuitive mind, England is ruined by having neglected—Happy could he and his minions be taught, in the language and wiſdom of Fox, that there is more ſtrength to be gained by gaining the confidence of the people of Ireland, than in 40,000 of the beſt forces of Europe. Let them give up corruption, and they may ſafely diſband the troops it has furniſhed; let them ceaſe to narrow the limits of freedom, as the expanſion of intellect demands that they ſhould be extended; let them reſt aſſured, that a ſyſtem which cannot be ſupported without ſpies and informers, muſt ſoon be abandoned; inſtead of buying, of bribing, or of perſecuting the PRESS, let them ſtrip falſehood of the advantages ſhe gains by concealment and miſrepreſentation, and give to truth that light and publicity, with which ſhe muſt ever prevail; let them recall thoſe baſe orders throughout the Poſt-Offices, for violating the ſecrets of friendſhip, and betraying the credit

credit of commerce; let them open the dungeons, by repealing thoſe laws by which they are crowded; let them aboliſh what the Chief magiſtrate's Deputy calls the MILDNESS of Government, and give us an adequate repreſentation for the baſis of liberty, and I will ſtake my life on it, NO NATION SHALL EVER INVADE US. But, alas! my fellow-citizens, I lament that the ſame infatuation, uſurpation, and folly, which have been ſo much the order of the day, will ſtill prevent thoſe equitable terms from being conceded: But mark me, the whole Iriſh fabric is ſupported by that of Great Britain, whoſe progreſs in ruin can only be equalled by her infatuation. If the principles of the French Revolution are as wicked, as deſtructive, and as diabolical as the Miniſter has repreſented them, why was it neceſſary to involve the people of England in the horrors and ruin of war, that they may not be PERSUADED to adopt them? Is it that the extreme of vice is ſo ſeducing, that the moſt violent of remedy only could prevent a wiſe people from ruſhing to meet it? And although the Miniſter has aſſigned day after day, different objects, for having involved them; and that every aſſertion on which he has founded his arguments of the day, have been belied by the facts of the morrow. Still they have been deaf to the councils of his glorious opponent, which, as long as tradition continues, muſt ever remain a wonderful inſtance of the efforts of genius and patriotiſm, to reſcue a beſotted and miſguided people from ruin; but the privileged and the rich yielding to fear and corruption, have deſerted this champion of liberty, to proſtrate themſelves at the feet of that Miniſter it was once their province to controul: placing terror in the ſeat of reaſon, and ſacrificing every ſpecies of induſtry to the manufacture of ſoldiers, they have looked to the bayonet of the mercenary for their only ſalvation. Preſumptious deluſion! Do they imagine they can force back the current of public opinion? Is it by that corruption, whoſe neceſſities muſt increaſe by geometrical meaſure, whilſt its means muſt decreaſe in the ſame rapid proportion? Is it by a carnage which would exhauſt the creation? Is it by oaths wrung from oppreſſion; know they not that the firſt oath of allegiance is from the King to the Laws, the Conſtitution and People; and that if ſwearing, WITHOUT CONSIDERATION, was binding Charles could never have ſuffered, James have been excluded, nor a Brunſwick have ſat on the throne! We know that King, Lords, and Commons exiſt but by the people's permiſſion; if uſeful, their titles can never be queſtioned—if not they can never be bolſtered by ſwearing. Vain efforts, to change the current of the human mind, like the noiſy winds, which to the ſhallow ſight, give a ſeeming current to the troubled face, whilſt with ponderous weight great ocean moves the tide, with ſlow majeſtic pace to its predeſtined limits.

Although it were in nature to reſcue Britain from impending deſtruction, it is not in nature that Ireland can be longer held by the diſgraceful and ruinous vaſſalage by which ſhe is bound. Much has been ſaid of the loyalty of the South contraſted with that of the North; if they mean loyalty to that ſyſtem of Government which this adminiſtration have adopted—to the connection with England on the preſent conditions—to the actual ſtate of repreſentation—to the proſtituted ſale of the right to legiſlate in one houſe, by the ſtill more proſtituted ſale of the right to legiſlate in the other—to the jobbing and purjury of Grand Juries—to tythes, tythe-proctors and land-pirates—to the annual exportation of two millions worth of the produce of Ireland, to pay Abſentees, without any return—to the immoderate high rents and the low rate of wages—or to the enormous expence by which theſe corruptions are moved

and

and maintained, I will anſwer for it, that the people of Leinſter, of Munſter, and Connaught are as ſenſible of the miſery and poverty theſe grievances have cauſed, and that they will go as far as the people of Ulſter to get them redreſſed. I know the means which have been uſed to perſuade the Catholics in the South, that the perſecutions of the Catholics in the North, which have been ſo diabolically fomented and protected in Armagh, were the acts of the Preſbyterians of the North; but I ſtake whatever credit I poſſeſs with my Catholic and Preſbyterian countrymen, on the aſſurance I give to the Preſbyterians that the Catholics of the South have buried in eternal oblivion all religious diſtinction, and in the aſſurance I give to the Catholics that the crimes with which their Preſbyterian countrymen ſtand charged, and for which ſo many are dungeoned at this inſtant, is their ZEAL FOR THE UNION OF IRISHMEN AMONGST ONE ANOTHER WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF SECT OR RELIGION; it is the eſſence of Chriſtianity, it is the eſſence of all morality and cannot by human laws be aboliſhed. Truſt me, my fellow-citizens, that as the Miniſter of England perceives the dying convulſions of a country on the deſtruction of whoſe liberty he has ſo long ſupported his power, he will be obliged to change his ſyſtem in Ireland of tyranny and force, into conceſſion and conciliation; you will then ſee his minions exchanging the ſaucy flippancy with which they now inſult and traduce you, into humiliation and meanneſs with which they will endavour to ſooth you; the inſolence of the coward, the ſport of the drab and the petulance of the puppy will ſoon evaporate into the inſignificance from whence they have riſen, but let no wretched palliative induce you to ally your cauſe with corruption; let nothing ſhort of a perfect Repreſentation ſatisfy you. With this admonition I leave you; but that I may not be ſuſpected of ſeeking your confidence by any other means than the fulleſt diſcloſure of my political ſentiments, I promiſe you, as ſoon as time will permit, that I will lay before you the beſt account of the ſtate of our Country my poor abilities will allow me to furniſh. The beſt aſſurance I can give of my fidelity to you and your cauſe, is, that I believe in a new order of things; that thoſe who violate the property and rights of others ſhould forfeit their own, whilſt thoſe who reſpect the rights and property of others will be certain to have their's reſpected in turn. With theſe ſentiments, knowing that you had wiſely determined never to interfere any more in elections, UNDER the ſyſtem of corruption and undue influence, I have offered my ſervices to uſe every means in my power to effect its deſtruction, and finding that from the monopoly of one ariſtocratic faction or other, your's was the only place of popular election I could hope to ſucceed in.

Think it not preſumptuous, my countrymen, that one who love's liberty ſhould ſeek her in the only aſylum ſhe has left; think it not preſumptuous, my fellow-citizens, that one who will never out-live the threatened liberties of his country, ſhould ſeek an advanced poſt where he may triumph in her cauſe, or fall in her defence. In contempt of calumny, UNITED with you in brotherly love and affection and in the glorious cauſe of Reform, I will ever remain your faithful friend and fellow-citizen.

Belfaſt, Jan. 20, 1797. ARTHUR O'CONNOR.

On Thurſday 2d February 1797, Mr. Arthur O'Connor was arreſted for the above Addreſs, by an Order of the Privy-council, and was cloſely confined as a State Priſoner for SIX MONTHS in the Tower.